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[1974]

0503

483 001 The Dwight Harrington Terry
002 Foundation Lectures
003 on Religion in the Light of
004 004 Science and Philosophy

008 005
835 006 The deed of gift declares that "the object of this founda-
007 tion is not the promotion of scientific investigation and
008 discovery, but rather the assimilation and interpretation of
009 that which has been or shall be hereafter discovered, and
010 its application to human welfare, especially by the building
011 of the truths of science and philosophy into the structure of
012 a broadened and purified religion. The founder believes
013 that such a religion will greatly stimulate intelligent effort
014 for the improvement of human conditions and the ad-
015 vancement of the race in strength and excellence of
016 character. To this end it is desired that a series of lectures
017 be given by men eminent in their respective departments,
018 on ethics, the history of civilization and religion, biblical
019 research, all sciences and branches of knowledge which
020 have an important bearing on the subject, all the great laws
021 of nature, especially of evolution . . . also such interpreta-
001 tions of literature and sociology as are in accord with the
002 spirit of this foundation, to the end that the Christian spirit
003 may be nurtured in the fullest light of the world's
004 knowledge and that mankind may be helped to attain its
005 highest possible welfare and happiness upon this earth."
006 The present work constitutes the fortieth volume published
007 on this foundation.

[1974]

0503

483 001

Preface

008 002

835 003

This lectureship is a pulpit as well as a learned podium; this lecturer is above all a priest. A university founded to train men in Church and Civil State could not find a better contemporary exemplar of that ancient dual mission than Father Theodore M. Hesburgh.

In church he is a distinguished theologian. I have no qualifications to say more. In "civil state," however, I at least have a citizen's qualification to express gratitude for his energetic works.

In international reconciliation he has raised colleagues out of the ruts of self-interest—in the international control of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and in the mobilization to help poorer nations and peoples, especially in Africa and Latin America.

Father Hesburgh's contribution to the continuing and unfinished effort to make the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights a living reality for all Americans is so widely appreciated that it needs no embellishment. This ideal of equality has

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001 been kept alive, and its achievement is still a realistic
002 hope, in considerable part because of Father Hes-
003 burgh's strenuous, stalwart championship of the
004 cause of human dignity and equality. This reached a
005 new and critical importance ~~than it became~~ when the
006 tide of civil rights began to ebb; hope for millions
007 would be more forlorn were it not for his steadfast-
008 ness. Father Ted Hesburgh can fairly join St. Paul
009 and affirm that "we wrestle not against flesh and
010 blood, but against principalities, against powers,
011 against the rules of the darkness of this world, against
012 spiritual wickedness in high places."

013 In the field of education I have some special reason
014 to appreciate Father Ted's accomplishments, in his
015 own university and in the leadership he has afforded
016 the rest of us. In the harassed late sixties he combined
017 firmness and flexibility, authority and openness,
018 which set a standard for us all. Less widely known is
019 his timely cable to Governor Rockefeller which
020 persuaded the Governors' Conference of 1969 to
021 oppose federal legislation to govern student behavior.
022 As a result, President Nixon was persuaded not to
023 extend the federal police power to the campuses of
024 the nation.

025 Response to "student unrest," however, is not the
026 essence of education. It is not tranquility, but dyna-
027 mic progress in response to the fast pace of knowl-
028 edge, and the evolving needs of a fast changing
029 society, that stand as the true measure of Father
030 Hesburgh's contribution through the years. He has
031 brought the University of Notre Dame to the first

rulers

001 rank of the nation's universities; without betraying
002 the sponsorship of his church and his order, Father
003 Hesburgh has achieved both the hospitality to con-
004 troversy and the highest standards of rational rigor
005 which every free university requires.

006 Yet because of the religious heritage of the place,
007 most especially because of the spirituality of the man,
008 Notre Dame is one of the few universities I know
009 which reminds the visitor as well as those who work
010 and study there, that learning at heart is a morally
011 motivated act.

012 This quality—spirituality—is Father Hesburgh's
013 very special gift to those over whom he presides,
014 those to whom he ministers, and those for whom he
015 writes and speaks. There is no passivity in his
016 contemplation, since the realization of God's will
017 demands that the person throw all of himself into the
018 cause. There is no gloom in his dedication, since it is
019 sustained by a confidence that the Holy Spirit is at
020 work in us all, in the world, and in the cosmos.

021 At a time of lowered expectations, it is good that
022 there are voices of hope, seasoned by experience, still
023 capable of believing that we can fashion a better
024 world. When that belief is vindicated by history and
001 025 sustained by faith, it helps to strengthen and reinvi-
026 gorate us all.

027

028 *New Haven*029 *April 1974*

KINGMAN BREWSTER, JR.

030

[1974]

0513

483 007 Prelude

008 008

835 009 What will the world be like in the year 2000? This
010 question is the leitmotiv of all that follows. I am
011 trying here to do the opposite of history and some-
012 thing short of prophecy. There is a deep conviction
013 among modern Christians, and I count myself one of
014 them, that we can affect the course of our times; that
015 theological and philosophical principles can become
016 operative in a wide variety of social, economic,
001 017 political, educational, scientific, and technical activi-
018 ties; that as a result, the world will become better,
019 more human, even somewhat divine and—in the
020 incarnational sense of the English word—godly.

021 Because of this conviction, the modern Christian
022 parts company with those who would relegate theol-
023 ogy to the library and religion to the sacristy. The
024 modern Christian refuses to place the sacred and the
025 secular in watertight compartments well insulated
026 from each other. I mean this in the operational sense,
027 not in the realm of concepts. I am not confusing the
028 sacred and the secular as ideas or realities. But

001 granting a conceptual separation, the modern Chris-
 002 tian refuses to confine part of his activity to time and
 003 part to eternity. He realizes that we must travel to
 004 eternity through time, and that the light of our faith
 005 must somehow illumine and suffuse all temporal
 006 activities.* The modern Christian's prayer and action
 013 must blend and be mutually supportive. His yearn-
 014 ings for eternity are not unrelated to yearnings for
 015 time. He will not settle for pie in the sky. When a
 016 modern Christian speculates about the possible and
 017 probable state of the world in the year 2000, he or she
 018 is really hoping for a better condition for humanity in
 019 the days ahead, but this dream draws upon many
 020 realities and trends already at work in the world.

021 I should at this juncture declare myself a Christian
 022 optimist, optimistic actually because of my Christian
 023 belief—my firm faith that the Holy Spirit is at work
 024 in the world, that the great powers and forces of the
 025 religious and secular orders can find new and fruitful
 026 directions if we nudge them at the right time toward
 027 better goals.

028 And now is the right time. The next millennium is
 029 almost upon us, and that has only happened once
 030 before in the Christian era. The last time was a period
 031 of great foreboding. There were dire predictions of
 032 worldwide catastrophe, even of the end of the world.

083 007

005 008 * I realize that my attempts to avoid linguistic male chauvinism are
 009 clumsy—the very language reflects our inability to deal with men and
 010 women as equally important. I will use masculine pronouns to refer to all
 011 people, when I must for the sake of linguistic elegance, and continue to
 012 hope for a better solution.

001 As we approach the second great milestone, we
002 actually have the capability of creating the doomsday
003 they predicted. By our own awesome weapons we can
004 reduce this world and everyone in it to cinders. In
005 fact, we have enough nuclear weapons to do it several
006 times over—and we are ever improving the technol-
007 ogy of death and destruction.

008 But against this background of lurking fear I would
009 like to speak of hope. Rather than the scenario of
010 global catastrophe in the days ahead, I should like to
011 project a new world that is possible and even
012 probable if we will dare to think new thoughts, to
013 engage in programs worthy of our hopes, and to
014 share our vision with all who will work with us to
015 achieve it.

016 The projection that follows is an essay in Christian
017 humanism, a vision of what man and his world can
018 be as we enter the new millennium. It is not a silly
019 chiliastic dream; it is based on real forces now in
020 movement, new techniques already viable, even
021 though largely unused or used badly. And I trust I
022 will be forgiven if I speak personally of realities with
023 which I have been engaged here and there about the
024 world during the past three decades.

025 Is the year 2000 too far ahead to be concerned
026 about it? I think not. I may not live to usher in the
027 second millennium, but a child born this year will
028 only be twenty-six years old when the millennium
029 arrives.

483 001 1 Human Progress and the Kingdom of
004 002 God

008 003

835 004 I have been accused, often enough in my life, of
005 attending to all too many secular concerns, which
006 seem to bear no relationship to what should concern
007 me most as a priest: God, faith, church, salvation, in
008 a word, the Kingdom of God. The more crude
009 objectors say, "Go back to your Bible," although I
010 suspect I spend more time with it than any dozen of
011 them. Others say, "You should pray more," and
012 indeed I should—although I say with thanksgiving,
013 not pride, that during my thirty years of priesthood I
014 have offered Mass every day, except one, that Mass is
015 allowed to be offered (There is no Mass on Good
016 Friday.). For me, the Mass is the greatest prayer of
017 all, and it has carried me through many difficult days,
018 from the South Pole to the faculty house at the
019 University of Moscow. The Mass puts me in vital
020 touch each day with God, and allows me to partici-
021 pate in His great act of redemption for everyone in

001 the world. Whatever else I do, I am most a priest
 002 offering Mass. But these critics are still right. While I
 003 never miss my daily breviary, I should pray more.
 004 The most perceptive critics say that while human
 005 progress, justice, and peace are important, it is hardly
 006 a priority of Christians, not to mention priests, to
 007 spend most of their lives in such pursuits. As they put
 008 it, "How will you answer the saints when they ask
 009 you, 'Quid hoc ad aeternitatem'? What have all of
 010 these economic, political, cultural, educational, and
 011 other concerns to do with eternity?" A nice question.
 012 It deserves an answer, especially since I started out in
 013 a university twenty-nine years ago as a professional
 014 theologian, though I have long since ceased to
 015 consider myself one.

016 Before attempting, with the help of some modern
 017 theologians, to build a theological bridge between
 018 human progress and the Kingdom of God, I would
 019 like to mention briefly the basic question of tran-
 020 scendence that must never be forgotten in discussion
 001 021 of this kind. The German theologian Joseph Rat-
 022 zinger has said that the two most important issues in
 023 theology today are *politics* (questions, for example, of
 024 neo-Marxism, violence, the true meaning of libera-
 025 tion) and *spirituality* (for instance, the content of our
 026 hope, in what way God is the basis of our life). The
 027 issue of spirituality is the transcendent one, although
 028 the two issues are closely related. As Ratzinger puts
 029 it,
 083 030

047 031 For me, priority must be given to the urgent
 032 question of how to discover God in our life. . . .

001 I'm talking about what may awkwardly be de-
 002 scribed as coming into contact with God, finding
 003 Him as the basis of our being and all of our
 004 acts—discovering that real sense of interiority
 005 which gives us both an independence from the
 006 things of this world and a new relationship to
 007 them.

008 In prayer and meditation we can find the
 009 tranquility and the transforming power of the
 010 presence of God. Union with God is, ultimately,
 011 the only basis on which our community with others
 012 can rest. Our interior liberty enables us to live in
 013 community, and to see and serve the needs of all,
 014 especially the poor. The type of committed detach-
 015 ment which is the by-product of this interior liberty
 016 destroys the roots of all forms of exploitation,
 017 including the lust for power inherent in political
 018 activity; and it opens the eyes to the injustices that
 019 are concealed in every system.*

084 023

835 024 This primacy of the spiritual and of spirituality in
 025 one's personal life will save theologians from becom-
 026 ing either academic pedants, speaking only to each
 027 other on esoteric subjects, or aliens in the land of
 028 faith they should primarily, though not exclusively,
 029 inhabit. Transcendence does not mean unconcern,
 030 but ultimately greater concern, freely given, without
 031 compromise. Living theology makes all of this possi-
 032 ble and in fact necessary for the theologian.

083 020

005 021 * Cited in "Lost in the Shouting: The Meaning of Vatican II," ~~United~~
 022 ~~States Catholic~~ U.S. CATHOLIC, p. 34, Vol. 38,
 No. 10, October 1973, Desmond O'Grady

*The correct
 name is
 U.S. Catholic
 and citation
 is incomplete*

001 Theology strives to be the orderly spiritual expres-
002 sion of Christian wisdom, as it was so well during the
003 ages of the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church. It
004 became in the Middle Ages, under the genius of
005 theologians like Abelard and Albert and Aquinas, a
006 strict intellectual discipline wherein faith and reason
007 met, discussed, and illuminated each other—as was
008 so well said: *Fides quaerens intellectum et intellectus*
009 *quaerens fidem*. Faith seeking understanding and
010 understanding seeking faith. As the sciences have
011 developed in recent centuries, there has been mutual
012 advantage in theology, the science of faith, meeting
013 and discussing with the secular sciences all of the
014 insights they each bring to man's total understanding
015 of himself, his world, and his God. All human
016 knowledge can benefit from theological reflection,
017 and theology should concern itself with the implica-
018 tions of new scientific understanding for the world of
019 faith. But all too little of this intellectual linkage takes
020 place in this world of isolation and specialization.

021 Today theology must be increasingly involved in a
022 critical reflection on the problems of the world and
023 modern man's place in the world as he works out his
024 salvation and seeks the Kingdom of God. As Yves
025 Congar said, "If the Church wishes to deal with the
026 real questions of the modern world and to attempt to
027 respond to them . . . it must open, as it were, a new
028 chapter of theologico-pastoral epistemology. Instead
029 of using only revelation and tradition as starting
030 points, as classical theology has generally done, it

001 must start with facts and questions derived from the
 002 world and from history." * This new theological
 005 attitude has led to the introduction of the word
 006 *orthopraxis*, referring to critical theological reflection,
 007 and especially, action regarding a Christian's life and
 008 commitment in a very complex world, according to
 009 the light of the gospel message. *Orthopraxis* is used in
 010 contrast to *orthodoxy* which concerns doctrine, gener-
 011 ally in the abstract order of ideas. The Dutch
 012 theologian Edward Schillebeeckx puts it bluntly,
 013 though a bit too antagonistically and absolutely for
 014 me: "It is evident that thought is necessary for action.
 015 But the Church for centuries devoted her attention to
 016 formulating truths and, meanwhile, did almost noth-
 017 ing to better the world. In other words, the Church
 018 focused on orthodoxy and left orthopraxis in the
 019 hands of nonmembers and nonbelievers." And later,
 020 "The hermeneutics of the Kingdom of God consists
 021 especially in making the world a better place. Only in
 022 this way will I be able to discover what the Kingdom
 023 of God means." * Such statements are most nuanced
 027 in context, but their import for our purpose is clear
 028 enough.

029 Granted that modern theology can and should be
 030 deeply involved in the complex problems of modern
 031 man and his world—which in turn need the illumina-
 032 tion of the faith and the inspiration of Christian
 033 wisdom as never before—that still leaves unresolved

083 003

* *Situations et taches* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1967), p. 72.

005 004

* "La Teologia," *Los Catolicos Holandeses* (Bilbao: Desclee de Brouwer, 1970), p. V.

026

001 the involvement of the Christian. How does all of this
 002 "secular" activity relate to the mission of the Church,
 003 the life of the Christian, salvation, and the Kingdom
 004 of God?

005 There is an integral, organic unity to the life of a
 006 Christian. In the broadest sense, the committed
 007 Christian is, like Christ the Savior, engaged in the
 008 creation of a new world and a new man. As Vatican
 009 II put it, "We are witnesses to the birth of a new
 010 humanism, one in which man is defined first by his
 011 responsibility towards his brothers and towards his-
 012 tory." One could add, and toward history in the
 013 making, the new creation, for this same constitution
 014 begins by saying that the Church today must share
 015 "the joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties,
 016 of men of this age." † The presumption spelled out
 020 later in the Constitution on "The Church in the
 021 Modern World" is that we are going to do something
 022 about these hopes and anxieties, that we are going to
 023 be engaged in some new creative and salvific action
 024 as Christians.

025 Creation and salvation are deeply allied in the Old
 026 Testament and the New. A modern theologian, the
 027 Peruvian Gustavo Gutierrez, uses this linkage to
 028 establish a connection between Christian social
 029 praxis, working for the new creation, and salvation.
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047 031 When we assert that man fulfills himself by
 032 continuing the work of creation by the means of

083 017
 005 018 † *Gaudium et Spes*, in *The Documents of Vatican II* (Guild Press, 1966), p.
 019 261; p. 199.

001 his labor, we are saying that he places himself, by
 002 this very fact, within an all-embracing salvific
 003 process. To work, to transform this world, is to
 004 become a man and to build the human commu-
 005 nity; it is to save. Likewise, to struggle against
 006 misery and exploitation and to build a just society
 007 is already to be a part of the saving action, which is
 008 moving towards its complete fulfillment. All this
 009 means that building the temporal city is not simply
 010 a stage of "humanization" or "pre-evangelization"
 011 as was held in theology up until a few years ago.
 012 Rather it is to become part of a saving process
 013 which embraces the whole of man and all human
 014 history. Any theological reflection on human work
 015 and social praxis ought to be rooted in this
 016 fundamental affirmation. . . .

017
 018 The conclusion to be drawn . . . is clear:
 019 salvation embraces all men and the whole man; the
 020 liberating action of Christ—the Word made man in
 021 this history and not in a history marginal to the
 022 real life of man—is at the heart of the historical
 023 current of humanity; the struggle for a just society
 024 is in its own right very much a part of salvation
 025 history.*

084 029

835 030 One can say this without identifying all temporal
 031 progress with the building of the Kingdom of God,
 032 which is by nature eternal. However, while there is a

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005 027 * *Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973), p.
 028 160; p. 168.

001 distinction between temporal progress and the
002 growth of the Kingdom, they are and should be
003 closely related in the minds and motives of Christians
004 working for peace and justice; indeed, they must be
005 part of the total endeavor of the one life we live.

006 There is, then, a profound unity in the divine plan
007 for man, creation, salvation, and the Kingdom of
008 God. Redemption embraces the totality of creation,
009 and those working for a new man and a new earth are
010 very much creating, and redeeming, the times as well.
011 There is one history of mankind. It is not static but
012 dynamic, and all that we say, propose, dream, and
013 hope for the development of mankind in our day,
014 should be seen in the broadest possible historical
015 context, which is also escatological. Looking ahead to
016 that ultimate Kingdom of Justice, Peace, and Love
017 validates as nothing else can for the Christian his or
018 her efforts to seek eternity through time, to love God
019 by loving men, to serve and to create, to build a
020 community of men that may also, by God's grace, be
021 a Kingdom of God. Anything less is unworthy of a
022 Christian.

023 Believing all of this profoundly, and relying on the
024 words the good Lord proposes to use in judging us
025 all, "What you did to one of these, my least brethren,
026 you did it to Me," I find no dissonance in a
027 Christian's involvement in the world. In fact, I would
028 be deeply disturbed about a Christian, a Christian
029 community, or a church that did not concern itself
030 seriously in all these temporal matters. As we read in
031 Isaiah, "Your countless sacrifices, what are they to

001 me, says the Lord. I am sated with the whole
 002 offerings of rams. . . . the offer of your gifts is
 003 useless, the reek of sacrifices is abhorrent to me. . . .
 004 though you offer countless prayers, I will not listen.
 005 There is blood on your hands. . . . cease to do evil
 006 and learn to do right, pursue justice and champion
 007 the oppressed; give the orphan his rights, plead the
 008 widow's cause." (Isa. 1:10-17)

009 The good Lord left no doubt that He identified the
 010 love of neighbor with the love of God Himself. When
 011 we feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe
 012 the naked, or visit the imprisoned, we do it to Him.
 013 When we refuse, we refuse Him. We then love neither
 014 God nor neighbor.

015 I would like to conclude this *apologia pro vita mea*
 016 by quoting a passage written for those who spend
 017 their lives among the poor and suffering in the
 018 missions of Latin America:

083 019

047 020 All the dynamism of the cosmos, and of human
 021 history, the movement towards the creation of a
 022 more just and fraternal world, the overcoming of
 001 023 social inequities among men, the efforts, so ur-
 024 gently needed on our continent, to liberate man
 025 from all that depersonalizes him—physical and
 026 moral misery, ignorance and hunger, as well as the
 027 awareness of human dignity, all these originate, are
 028 transformed, and reach their perfection in the
 029 saving work of Christ. In Him and through Him,
 030 salvation is present at the heart of man's history.*

083 031

005 032 * "La Pastoral en las Misiones de America Latinas," cited in Gustavo
 033 Gutierrez, *Theology of Liberation*, p. 178.

583 *Human Progress and the Kingdom of God*

13

835 002 May we all be a part of this evolving history, this
—001 creative and salvific act.

483 001 2 The Power of Ecumenism

008 002

835 003 Of all the opportunities bearing upon the shape of the
004 world in the year 2000, and beyond in the new
005 millennium, clearly the most important movements
006 afoot today are those that concern the unity of
007 mankind. One of the strongest of these is ecumenism,
008 not only in the Christian, but in the larger world-reli-
009 gion dimension. I speak here of a professedly theo-
010 logical reality, but its profound influence is not only
011 transreligious but transcultural, transnational, deeply
012 human and universal. And it bears directly on a new
013 and growing unity among more than two thirds of
014 mankind.

015 My most serious introduction to ecumenism came
016 in April of 1964, the third year of Vatican Council II,
017 when Pope Paul VI asked me to visit him in Rome to
018 discuss a special project. One of the greatest experi-
019 ences he had derived from the council was the
020 opportunity of meeting the many theologians who
021 were observers on behalf of the Protestant, Anglican,
022 and Orthodox churches, he explained. He had found

001 them wonderful men, dedicated to theology, deep in
002 their faith, holy in their lives, and like himself,
003 yearning for the unity of all Christians in our times.

004 The Holy Father had also been deeply impressed
005 by two remarkable experiences in the preceding
006 months. That January he had met and embraced
007 Athenagoras, the Patriarch of Constantinople, now
008 Istanbul. After more than a thousand years of painful
009 separation—beginning at the time of the first millen-
010 nium, when the western and eastern, the Latin and
011 Greek branches of Christianity were separated by
012 schism—the heads of these two ancient churches for
013 the first time encountered each other, in the only
014 place on earth where this was possible, where it all
015 began: Jerusalem, the holy city, the city of peace.

016 The second experience was the Holy Father's
017 meeting with all the non-Catholic observers. The
018 speaker for the observers was Kristen Skydsgaard of
019 Copenhagen. He reflected a thought inspired by
020 another observer, Oscar Cullmann of Basel, that the
021 Holy Father should capture the magic of the hour by
022 creating a place where the Christian theological
023 fraternity born during the council might be con-
024 tinued—an institute where the mystery of salvation,
025 which we all share and cherish, might be studied
026 together in an atmosphere of brotherhood and
027 prayer. The Holy Father asked whether, as president
028 of the International Federation of Catholic Universi-
029 ties, I might not be able to establish such an
030 institute—in Jerusalem.

031 The following day, the council members of the

001 federation agreed, and established a provisional com-
002 mission. Then on Thanksgiving weekend, 1965, an
003 international group of university theologians from all
004 the Christian churches agreed to form an academic
005 council to try to realize the project, which from that
006 day was under their direction. Subsequently, the
007 International Federation of Catholic Universities
008 bowed out, delegating to the University of Notre
009 Dame the multitudinous financial, architectural, and
010 administrative responsibilities of the project, now
011 under the policy direction of the Academic Council
012 of ecumenical theologians.

013 Everything conspired against the project. The Six
014 Day War and the ensuing turmoil caused financial
015 problems, with widespread incredulity at the thought
016 of building a \$2 million institute in Jerusalem, of all
017 places, especially at this time. But land was obtained;
018 a generous donor, the late I. A. O'Shaughnessy,
019 shared the vision and donated the cost of the
020 building; and it did get built. It is reputed to be the
021 most beautiful Christian building in Jerusalem, seem-
022 ing to grow out of its olive and pine clad hilltop of
023 Tantur, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It has
024 been operating these past three years with those who
025 first dreamed it occasionally in attendance, including
026 Skydsgaard and Cullmann.

027 This story illustrates two realities we all need to
028 recognize. First, the impossible is possible with faith
029 and hope and especially love. And second, Protes-
030 tants, Orthodox, and Catholics can move together
031 toward unity if they pray and live together as they

discuss and pray

001 theologize. As the one who probably worried most as
002 all of this moved along, I was immensely edified by
003 my brothers who shared the dream, who worked side
004 by side to make it come true, who never lost faith or
005 hope, and were prodigal in their love. All of this
006 happened against the background of one thousand
007 years of misunderstandings between Orthodox and
008 Latin Christians, four and a half centuries of bitter
009 and unchristian strife between Catholics and Protes-
010 tants. But we do share our faith in Christ, our Savior,
011 and it brought us through every crisis and difficulty.
012 In the place that has been called the umbilical of the
013 world, a place sacred to Moslems, Jews, and Chris-
014 tians, we are living, praying, and working together.

015 This experience left me with the profound convic-
016 tion that the third of humanity that calls itself
017 Christian need no longer be divided by past errors,
018 for which we are all guilty. We are determined to be
019 one again as the good Lord desires. As the Holy
020 Father remarked in that first conversation about the
021 project, many of the religious diversities that have
022 developed during so many centuries of disunion may
023 be looked upon as rich developments of the Holy
024 Spirit within the total Christian community. Unity
025 does not mean uniformity. Nothing good that has
026 developed to enrich faith and prayer and community
027 life need be lost as long as we now grow together in
028 the unity of our faith, hope, and love.

029 Will the next millennium see Christian unity
030 emerge from centuries of division and strife? I believe
031 it will, and further perceive that the faithful are far

001 ahead of all the clerical bureaucracies in learning to
002 live together in Christian love and understanding.
003 This new Christian peace dawning under the power-
004 ful inspiration of the Holy Spirit has enormous
005 potential for the unity of mankind in our day, for
006 there are fewer bonds more cohesive than bonds born
007 of religious faith. It once held the Western world
008 together against almost insupportable strains. In the
009 new millennium it may even bring together a wider
010 world of religions, in the broader ecumenism now
011 burgeoning between Christians and non-Christians.

012 Too long have we taken for granted that "East is
013 East and West is West and never the twain shall
014 meet." Young people today are much more interested
015 in what unites humankind than in what has so long
016 divided it. The non-Christian religions have more
017 than a billion members. One thinks first of religions
018 of the Book, those closest to Christianity—Islam and
019 Judaism, religions of the sons of Abraham. Then
020 there are the Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, Shintos,
021 animists, and many others, mostly Eastern and
022 African. For centuries all of these religions and their
023 followers were for most Christians simply "others,"
024 or worse, heathens or pagans. We never stopped to
025 consider the strong bridges of essentially religious
026 belief that link us together and could contribute
027 mightily to the essential unity of mankind and to
028 peace between us in our separated worlds.

029 Take, for example, the four following beliefs,
030S shared essentially by all the great religions (with the

001 possible exception of Buddhism regarding a personal
002 creator god):

003 1. *Belief in God*: conceived and named variously,
004 but nonetheless a pervasive key reality transcending
005 all other reality and somehow explaining all other
006 reality. A God who somehow made us, somehow
007 ineffably speaks to us and hears our prayers, a God
008 found in so many ways that not to believe in Him has
009 always been a minority position among humans.

010 2. *Belief in a moral order of good and evil*: somehow
011 created by God and somehow supervised by Him. A
012 godlike man is a good man, and an evil man is
013 ungodly. Whatever the divergences in moral belief
014 across religions and cultures, the great broad lines of
015 what the medievals called the natural law or the law
016 of peoples—*lex gentium*—is generally, at the basic
017 level of doing good and avoiding evil, taken to be
018 binding on every man, woman, and child of whatever
019 time, place, or condition. We are understood to know
020 the broad lines of good and evil by an inner voice
021 called conscience, often conceived to be the voice of
022 God speaking within us and to us.

023 3. *The primacy of the spiritual over the material*: this
024 belief, like the previous one, has closely linked
025 religion to culture. Man is special in that he evaluates
026 in a spiritual sense, creates in his life and works an
027 inner beauty that transcends money, power, and
028 prestige. The great spiritual values—love, justice,
029 honesty, compassion, courage, fidelity, and so many
030 others—are what enrich a person's character and life

001 and works. The spiritual, not the material, is the
002 factor most important in fulfilling a person and
003 making him or her happy.

004 4. *Immortality*: in whatever form, is among the
005 deepest yearning of all religious beliefs. Ultimate
006 death would be ultimate negation of everything
007 precious to men and women: consciousness, self-
008 hood, loving relationships with family and friends,
009 justice and mercy at work, reward for good and
010 punishment for the evil, an end to pain and the
011 misery of separation, and, ultimately, that great
012 burning hope of eternal union with God. Life is
013 fundamentally tenacious, and religion makes eternal
014 life a most tenacious hope. I have placed this belief
015 last because, while it is in many ways the most
016 universal bridge of all among religions, it takes so
017 many forms that it is the most difficult to enunciate
018 or define. But it is there and it perdures. Even in our
019 Christian religion, it is left the most vague of all
020 revelations. The good Lord said only, as if to tease us,
021 "Eye has not seen, and ear has not heard, and it has
022 not entered into the mind of man to imagine what
023 God has prepared for those who love Him." And our
024 creed concludes simply, "I believe . . . in eternal life.
025 Amen."

026 Man, so often divided in so many ways over so
027 many millennia, ought to recognize these strong
028 bonds that can ultimately unite him to others on this
029 planet. One way to begin is to take these for beliefs,
030 and others that suggest themselves, and see what
031 enlightenment we receive in discussing them with

001 theologians of the other great world religions. This is
002 starting to happen at our Christian Ecumenical
003 Institute at Tantur. The important point is that
004 mankind believing has been separated by its religious
005 beliefs, and the very opposite should be true in the
006 next millennium. I believe that the new and growing
007 interest in world religions, evidenced by the fact that
008 even my church now has a Secretariat for Christian
009 Unity, a Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, and
010 a Secretariat for Nonbelievers, indicates that the new
011 millennium will see a union of mankind in a growing
012 active ecumenism, in both the Christian and world-
013 religion dimensions.

014 Let me illustrate what we have been missing with a
015 passage from the Hindu poet, Rabindranath Tagore:
083 016

047 017 Leave this chanting and singing and telling of
018 beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark
019 corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine
020 eyes and see thy God is not before thee!

021 "He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard
022 ground and where the pathmaker is breaking
023 stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and
024 his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy
025 mantle and even like him come down on the dusty
026 soil!

027 Deliverance? Where is this deliverance to be
028 found? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon
029 him the bonds of creation; he is bound with us all
030 forever.

031 Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy

001 flowers and incense! What harm is there if thy
 002 clothes become tattered and stained? Meet him
 003 and stand by him in toil and in sweat of thy brow.*
 004 007

835 008 What Christian could not recite these lines in prayer
 009 and come closer to God? Yet most Christians would
 010 never suspect that an eastern Hindu could write of
 011 God so incarnationally as this.

012 It might also be worthy of note that one of the best
 013 known Christian monks, Thomas Merton, Brother
 014 Louis of the silent Trappists, died in Bangkok while
 001 015 discussing monasticism with his Buddhist counter-
 016 parts. He said, "We have to begin to understand
 017 Eastern religions so that we, in turn, might rediscover
 018 our Christianity." And that other great visionary of
 019 the unity of mankind, Teilhard de Chardin, died on
 020 Easter Sunday—the day of the Resurrection—as he
 021 had hoped he might, because that day signalizes the
 022 ultimate convergence of man and God. Many paths
 023 lead toward the ultimate, the omega of human
 024 progress meeting the pleroma of Christian hope,
 025 nature and grace meeting and embracing eternally.
 026 Two small coincidences perhaps, but they indicate to
 027 me a force at work that should see great fruition in
 028 the next millennium. Maranatha. Come Lord Jesus.

083 004

005 005 * Amiya Chakravarty, trans., *A Tagore Reader* (New York: Macmillan
 006 Co., 1961), p. 295.

*this is not
 original work
 parody.*

483 001 3 Human Dignity and Civil Rights

008 002

835 003 The second great trend that can and should pro-
004 foundly affect the condition of humankind in the
005 next millennium is the growing consciousness of
006 human dignity, human rights, and human develop-
007 ment. These are concepts with profound philosophi-
008 cal and theological underpinnings, but the realization
009 and acceptance of their importance, especially for
010 women, children, the poor, and racial and religious
011 minorities, has been a long time coming. In many
012 ways, a consciousness of human dignity and a respect
013 for human rights has spurred man's march towards
014 civilization and culture. As in all other human
015 developments, there have been peaks and valleys; in
016 this one, more valleys than peaks until very recently.

017 I think it a fair statement that in man's long history
018 men and women have been mainly slave and seldom
019 free. In those millennia of unwritten history that we
001 020 are trying to reconstruct archeologically and anthro-
021 pologically, searching in the deep darkness for a few
022 identifiable objects, we discern one abiding fact:

001 early man had a short painful life, most of which was
002 spent in the all-consuming effort to stay alive, and an
003 early death. There was little nicety, little culture, little
004 humanity, little beauty. As Gliddings of Brown
005 University found in his digs at the Onion Portage of
006 the Kobuk River above the Arctic Circle in Northern
007 Alaska, each of thirty layers of human artifacts,
008 stretching back some eight thousand years, told a
009 similar story. There were some remains of a primitive
010 shelter against the cold, some fish and caribou bones,
011 some campfire remnants, and some human bones
012 sprinkled with red ochre in the hope of a better world
013 beyond. Food, shelter, and hope beyond. Perhaps a
014 less grim story in less harsh climes, but generally the
015 same outline: to maintain life, not really to live in any
016 deeply human sense. Man was a slave to cold and
017 heat, hunger and illness, fear, superstition, and igno-
018 rance. But he kept yearning and moving upward.
019 When the ideograph, the symbol, and the alphabet
020 begin to record human history, man's existence
021 emerges as a bit more human, with the trappings of
022 culture and urbanization seen here and there around
023 the world, but slavery still very much a reality for the
024 majority of human kind. The earlier forms of slavery
025 give way to political and economic slavery—more
026 sophisticated, but slavery all the same—the basic
027 denial of human dignity, rights, and equality.

028 At the beginning of the Christian era, St. Paul
029 writes a letter to a slave owner, Philemon, asking him
030 not to free, but to deal kindly with Onesimus, a
031 runaway slave who had been good to Paul and whom

001 Paul was returning to him. Despite the new human
002 vista of Christianity, official slavery coexisted with it
003 four hundred years after the death of Christ. When it
004 reoccurred a millennium later, Christians were the
005 best customers of the Arab traders. One should visit
006 the island of Gorée, in the harbor of Dakar, to sense
007 what it must have meant to cram 450 slaves into a
008 small prison to await the next slave ship. It adds to
009 the horror to recall that some 20 million slaves died
010 on their trip across the Atlantic. Throughout the
011 world, human dignity and human rights continued to
012 exist in travesty rather than reality because of these
013 and other human and natural forces.

014 Western civilization occasionally reached for peaks
015 like the Magna Carta. Centuries later, there were
016 great statements like "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*," of
017 the French Revolution, or those great documents that
018 ushered in the birth of our country nearly two
019 hundred years ago. But even then the majority of the
020 first Americans could not exercise the fundamental
021 political right of voting, because they were slaves,
022 women, not property owners, or too young. We have
023 since redressed these injustices, but at the initially
024 ineffective price of a civil war in the case of slaves,
025 and in the last decade's revolution in the case of the
026 young. Even now, women are awaiting the ratifica-
027 tion of an amendment to assure their constitutional
028 rights.

029 The most amazing aspect of the growing con-
030 sciousness of human dignity is how recently it even
031 began to blossom. Not until twenty-five years ago,

001 after millennia of slow upward strivings, was a
002 Universal Declaration of Human Rights set down at
003 all. But when I attended, as head of the Vatican
004 delegation, the twentieth anniversary celebration of
005 the United Nations' Universal Declaration held in
006 Teheran, Iran, two sad realities impressed me. First,
007 practically none of the large nations had yet ratified
008 the two protocols—one on civil and political rights,
009 the other on economic, social, educational, and
010 cultural rights—that flowed from the Universal Dec-
011 laration, and none of the smaller nations was really
012 observing these rights either. Second, the first week of
013 the conference was mainly given over to fighting
014 between Arabs and Israeli, Indians and Pakistani,
015 Northern and Southern Africans, and others too
016 numerous to mention. My own contribution, I fear,
017 was to scold them for acting like this:

083 018

047 019 . . . The understandable frustration is most evi-
020 dent in the way that so many delegates find it
021 easier to accuse others of their shortcomings than
022 to look deeply into their own consciences, individ-
023 ual and national. What would be the effect of this
024 conference, if instead of pointing our fingers or
025 aiming our invectives at one another, we looked
026 honestly and sincerely at ourselves, to measure,
027 each his own country, against the great ideals
028 enunciated in the Universal Declaration on
029 Human Rights?

030 Our delegation is especially intrigued by the
031 imaginative Costa Rican suggestion of a high

001 commissioner for human rights who might become
002 a worldwide ombudsman, especially if the post
003 could be filled by someone recognized everywhere
004 for personal integrity and high moral leadership.
005 He or she could be helped by a committee chosen
006 for high competence, with adequate national and
001 007 regional support, governmental and nongovern-
008 mental, and with ultimate juridical support from
009 national, regional, and international courts. The
010 commissioner could indeed become the living
011 focus for the problem that so concerns us here in
012 this conference. The problem of human rights is so
013 universal that it transcends all other problems that
014 face humanity and the United Nations. It is
015 obvious to our delegation, as to all of you, that this
016 conference will not reach a successful conclusion if
017 we do not agree on some realistic mechanisms to
018 translate words into deeds, ideals into reality,
019 hopes into achievement. The strong agreement of
020 this conference on the necessity of a high commis-
021 sioner for human rights would be a minimal first
022 step in this direction.

023 One cannot speak of hopes without underlining
024 the fact that the younger generation, half of the
025 world's population today, is conscious of the much
026 we have said and the little we have done about
027 their deep concern for the world that we have
028 created, with all its inequities, with its racism, with
029 its perduring prejudices, with its continuing and
030 flagrant discrimination. I speak as one who has
031 spent all of his adult life in a university, with young

001 people. Our younger generation will not wait
002 forever for peaceful solutions to this burning
003 problem of human equality. The young have only
004 one life to live here on earth and it is now before
005 them, filled with a whole series of tantalizing
006 opportunities. They know that the human situation
007 need not be what it is, as we permit it to be. If we
001 008 do not act now, and act together, and act effec-
009 tively, this conference will be in fact a sad celebra-
010 tion of a very happy and promising moment
011 twenty years ago. The younger generation is being
012 constantly and strongly tempted to violence, vio-
013 lence that solves nothing and deepens human
014 misery, even the misery of the young. But if we do
015 not act effectively, what other alternative do we
016 leave them?

017 Love or hatred, peace or violence, order or
018 disorder: these are the real choices that face
019 humanity, young and old, and this conference
020 today. Strange as it may seem to us, our continuing
021 apathy in the face of worldwide and inhuman
022 injustice makes the young of this world even doubt
023 the meaning of the words we use in expressing
024 humanity's ideal, makes them even more doubt our
025 sincerity and our courage.
084 026

835 027 Despite all this, the Universal Declaration of
028 Human Rights does exist and it does represent the
029 most complete statement of its kind in the history of
030 humanity. Our present problem is to make it less an
031 ideal and more a reality, to persuade all the nations

001 of the world to ratify the two protocols, to see that
002 their provisions are observed throughout the world:
003 in realizing the inherent God-given dignity of every
004 person; in achieving freedom to be truly human; in
005 creating a new equality of opportunity to make the
006 world more humane and more just.

007 One would hope that for many reasons, but mainly
008 because of our great traditions and growing con-
009 sciousness of human dignity and equality, the United
010 States might take a leading role in this endeavor.
011 Nothing else—neither power, nor might, nor wealth,
012 nor prestige—would speak more persuasively to the
013 rest of mankind. In so many ways, the United States
014 is the microcosm of the total problem everywhere.
015 We have every race in our population. Color is more
016 often a cause of prejudice than race, and again we
017 have more colored citizens than any majority white
018 nation on earth—more blacks than the total white
019 population of Canada, more browns than all the
020 whites in Australia. While we are largely a Christian
021 nation, we have more Jews, by three times, than
022 Israel, and we have every variety of Christian under
023 the sun. We are an amalgam of every European
024 nationality, culture, and language, and in exchange
001 025 students alone we have thousands of Africans, As-
026 ians, and Latin Americans. It is as if the good Lord
027 set us up as a laboratory experiment to pioneer the
028 observance of human rights, dignity, and equality in
029 a most pluralistic world.

030 Despite our obvious failings, and they are many, I
031 believe that in the decade of the sixties we made more

001 progress in solving what Gunnar Myrdal called "the
002 American dilemma" than ever before in our history.
003 Moreover, no other nation, ancient or modern, has
004 made similar advances in so short a period of time. I
005 think that today we need the encouragement of this
006 fact to keep trying and not to lose hope, despite
007 temporary setbacks.

008 When the United States Commission on Civil
009 Rights was established by the Congress in 1957 to
010 ascertain the condition of civil rights in America and
011 to advise the president and Congress regarding
012 corrective action, we found the situation bad indeed.
013 The law creating the commission was the first at-
014 tempt in over eighty years to legislate federally for
015 civil rights. And we of the commission were generally
016 considered a fairly impotent body: six members
017 representing both political parties, three Northerners
018 and three Southerners, five whites and one black—
019 armed only with the power to subpoena persons and
020 documents and to publicize our findings and our
021 corrective advice to the president and Congress. It
022 seems almost miraculous that over the next fifteen
023 years about 75 percent of our suggestions were
024 enacted into federal law, even though they were often
025 dismissed as ridiculous by one President, only to be
026 endorsed by the next.

027 At the commission's beginning a decade and a half
028 ago, several million black Americans in the southern
029 states could not even register to vote; black children
030 by law had to attend inferior black primary and
031 secondary schools; black students were not welcome

001 at Southern state universities and their numbers were
002 minuscule at white private and public colleges and
003 universities across the country. As a result, there were
004 very few black professionals—four black lawyers out
005 of over two thousand lawyers in Mississippi, for
006 example, where no white lawyer would touch a civil
007 rights case. One of the black lawyers wouldn't either.
008 Black Americans throughout the South faced dozens
009 of daily indignities. They could not eat in most
010 restaurants, rent rooms in most hotels, drink at most
011 fountains and bars, sit where they pleased in buses,
012 trains, theaters—even churches—could not even be
013 buried in cemeteries with whites. They could, how-
014 ever, pay taxes, die for their country in a war, and do
015 most of the menial work, North and South. What was
016 a *de jure* indignity in the South was often enough a *de*
017 *facto* indignity in the North, because of federally
018 financed and sustained housing patterns.

019 We should remember this tragic human situation,
020 even though much of it has now passed into history.
021 We should remember Rosa Parks, who refused, at
022 long last, to move to the back of the bus when her
023 feet were tired after a long day's work—thus starting
024 the Montgomery bus boycott and a whole sequence
025 of sit-ins, eat-ins, drink-ins, pray-ins, sleep-ins, and,
026 in fact, the whole revolution of the sixties for the
027 achievement of human dignity and human rights. We
028 should remember Martin Luther King and Medgar
029 Evers and all who suffered and died to make the
030 country awake to its plight. We should remember
031 President Lyndon Johnson, who stood before a joint

001 session of Congress and declared from his heart, "We
002 shall overcome," as we did with the passage of the
003 great omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting
004 Act of 1965, and the Housing Act of 1968.

005 Some have said that the law does not really change
006 anything, but in these cases it did. Public accommo-
007 dations were opened to blacks overnight. While only
008 3 percent of the southern school districts were
009 desegregated in the decade following the Supreme
010 Court's *Brown* decision of 1954, over 70 percent of
011 the districts were desegregated in the five years
012 following the enactment of Title VI of the 1964 act.
013 There were only about six elected black officials in
014 the South when blacks there largely could not vote.
015 More than a thousand were elected in 1972. Blacks
016 are seen more frequently now in business and the
017 professions, in all the great universities of the land,
018 slowly but surely on their faculties, on corporate
019 boards, as mayors of great cities like Cleveland,
020 Newark, Atlanta, Detroit, and Los Angeles. And as
021 the world did not end with this sudden change—it
022 was enriched and improved—the law did prove
023 educational.

024 I have spoken mainly of the rights of blacks and
025 the sudden breakthrough they made in the sixties. To
026 be honest, I should add that about twelve million
027 Spanish-speaking Americans and about a million
028 Indians still await their breakthrough. Orientals still
029 have special problems, too. Women are better than
030 half our population and I need not remind you of the
031 new stirrings of women's liberation here in America

001 and all around the world. And because I have been
002 on the side of all who could not speak effectively for
003 themselves, I must also speak for those who have no
004 voice at all, the unborn children who are so cavalierly
005 deprived of the most basic right of all, the right to
006 life, without which all other human rights are mean-
007 ingless. Each of us once was what these unborn
008 children, of whatever stage of development, now are.
009 No one of us would like to have been deprived of the
010 days and years of human life we have enjoyed.
011 Millions of unborn children are now, within the
012 law—the law of man, not of God—being so denied. I
013 must speak for them and their most basic right to
014 live. And I do. I hope that more of them will survive
015 to enjoy the new millennium and to contribute to a
016 new dignity for all mankind, once their own has been
017 recognized and they have been allowed to live and
018 love as all of us have. Later, I will speak of the
019 children of the underdeveloped world, half of whom
020 die before the age of six.

021 In general, I believe we must broaden our view of
022 the range of human rights that should be guaranteed
023 to our people and protected by our laws. The rights
024 of individuals in this country have been largely a
025 collection of political and civil liberties rooted in a
026 centuries-old tradition. More is required than politi-
027 cal and civil rights to secure the dignity of human
028 beings. We must move beyond political and civil
029 rights and afford protection to economic and social
030 rights as well. Too often we deal with social and
031 economic issues in this country as problems, as the

001 discharge of minimal responsibilities to take care of
002 the needy. When we have acted to provide economic
003 or social benefits we have viewed such actions as
004 bestowing a privilege. Our people have political and
005 civil rights; in economic, social and cultural areas, we
006 dispense privileges. This is too narrow a view.

007 Its narrowness was made clear to me at the
008 Teheran Conference mentioned above, where I ob-
009 served the split between the definition of rights in the
010 western world and in the socialist world. To socialist
001 011 governments, concern for human rights focuses es-
012 sentially on social and economic rights. We, on the
013 other hand, have focused more on political and civil
014 rights. The chairman of the United States delegation
015 to the Teheran conference was Roy Wilkins, who, in
016 a brilliant speech, attempted to bridge the differences.
017 He observed that "the authors of the Four Freedoms
018 did not engage in the sterile and useless debate over
019 the relative merits and priorities of civil and political
020 as compared with economic and social rights. They
021 knew that all these freedoms were interdependent."
022 He spoke of the necessity to make an amalgam of
023 civil, political, social, and economic rights—a goal
024 toward which we should all dedicate ourselves.

025 But to return to my original thought, will America
026 give leadership to the world in the area of human
027 dignity, rights, and equality of opportunity, because
028 of the special tradition of our country and our special
001 029 situation as a nation of many religions, races, na-
030 tionalities, cultures, and colors? Or will we default,
031 just as the world is beginning to awake to the burning

001 need for the recognition of human dignity and rights
002 everywhere? We gave great and unique leadership to
003 all the world in the sixties. What has begun to go
004 wrong in the seventies?

005 First, Americans are impatient. We like quick
006 victories, facile solutions, and are soon bored by
007 lingering problems. That is why our typical art form,
008 the western movie, always ends by quickly killing off
009 all the opposition, the bad guys. There is no more
010 lingering problem among all mankind than prejudice.
011 While laws can correct inequitable situations and
012 educate while doing this, prejudice must be faced and
013 conquered every hour of every day by every individ-
014 ual within his inner self. No law, not even God's, can
015 effect understanding, tolerance, magnanimity within
016 us. This is a challenge that each of us faces, each day.
017 No quick victory here.

018 Second, the problem of civil rights in the sixties
019 was easier for northerners because it primarily
020 affected the South. Everyone is good at practicing
021 virtue at a distance. When the problem began to
022 move north, with a total approach to open housing,
023 desegregation of schools by busing, greater equality
024 of opportunity in employment in the northern cities
025 and their suburbs, then the northern liberals began to
026 act as defensively as the southern conservatives had.
027 Not *my* neighborhood, not *my* child's school, not *my*
028 university, not *my* club, not *my* job. As the old farmer
029 said, "It depends on whose kid has the measles."

030 Third, the fast pace of progress in the sixties was
031 slowed in the seventies because politicians, like

001 sharks smelling blood, began to see political profit in
002 catering to the deeply implanted prejudices and fears
003 of Americans who perhaps felt that there had been
004 too much progress too quickly or, more honestly, that
005 they were personally threatened by the onward
006 march of progress. New banners of ethnicity were
007 waved; idealism was replaced by political pragmatism;
008 leaders followed instead of leading; the slow-
009 down and the slipback began, lead by the most
010 powerful officials in the land.

011 The same burning question remains: Are we going
012 to stand still on basic human rights, slip back, or
013 move forward? We have come down from a high
014 peak in our history and are presently in a valley. The
015 rest of the world is hardly heroic in this matter
001 016 either—witness the slaughter of the Hutus in Ru-
017 anda, the plight of the Bihari in Bangladesh, the
018 fratricidal hatreds of the sons of Abraham, Arabs
019 and Israeli, in the Middle East, and the continuing
020 vendetta between North and South Vietnamese and
021 Koreans. Yet with all the burden of ingrained
022 prejudice and hatred, I believe that our age, more
023 than any previous one, knows that this is wrong, that
024 it is suicidal on so small a planet as ours. We do have
025 our Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is
026 light years beyond the statements of the Magna Carta
027 and the French and American revolutionary docu-
028 ments, although its rhetoric has yet to yield deeds in
029 many areas of the world. I believe we must keep our
030 eyes on that peak. And I deeply believe that given the
031 proper kind of courageous and inspirational leader-

001 ship from the officials of church and state on all
002 levels, America will continue the upward march into
003 the next millennium. We have our 200th birthday as
004 an added incentive to make the promises of our
005 Constitution and Bill of Rights come true. More than
006 the military shield of America, the world will need,
007 today and in the millennium to come, the shield of
008 our conscience toward the manifold assemblage of
009 citizens that makes this country unique in the world,
010 *e pluribus unum*. Might the whole world be thus in the
011 next millennium.

483 001 4 Population and the Green Revolution

008 002

835 003 I remarked as I began that the modern Christian
004 believes he can make his theological and philosophi-
005 cal principles operative in the affairs and problems of
006 his times. The following is an exercise in that belief.
007 And I promised that my projections for the next
008 millennium would be hopeful and optimistic, so you
009 may expect a bright rather than a dismal preview,
010 although I concede that the worst could happen. But
011 however one projects his or her hopes for the next
012 millennium, central to every consideration will be the
013 human person. It is the person who shares the hope
014 and sees it realized or denied in his or her life. It is
015 the person who has faith and who loves his brothers
016 and sisters in truth and justice. It is the person who
017 enjoys or is denied his or her rights. It is the person
018 who is at the heart of all earthly history, who is
019 hungry and thirsty, who seeks shelter and warmth;
020 who is born, suffers, enjoys, works, gives life and
021 love; who persecutes, hates, or is violent, who makes

001 war or peace, builds or destroys, dies; it is the person
002 who makes these choices.

003 One finds surprisingly little today, even in philoso-
004 phy, on the human person. The best description that
005 I have found comes from another Terry lecturer,
006 Jacques Maritain.

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009 What do we mean precisely when we speak of
010 the human person? When we say that a man is a
011 person, we do not mean merely that he is an
012 individual, in the sense that an atom, a blade of
013 grass, a fly or an elephant is an individual. Man is
014 an individual who holds himself in hand by
015 intelligence and will. He does not exist only in a
016 physical manner. He has a spiritual superexistence
017 through knowledge and love; he is, in a way, a
018 universe in himself, a microcosm, in which the
019 great universe in its entirety can be encompassed
020 through knowledge; and through love, he can give
021 himself completely to beings who are to him, as it
022 were, other selves, a relation for which no equiva-
023 lent can be found in the physical world. The
024 human person possesses these characteristics be-
025 cause in the last analysis man, this flesh and these
026 perishable bones which are animated and activated
027 by a divine fire, exists "from the womb to the
028 grave" by virtue of the very existence of his soul,
029 which dominates time and death. Spirit is the root
030 of personality. The notion of personality thus
031 involves that of totality and independence; no
matter how poor and crushed he may be, a person,

001 as such, is a whole and subsists in an independent
 002 manner. To say that man is a person is to say that
 003 in the depths of his being he is more a whole than a
 004 part, and more independent than servile. It is to
 005 say that he is a minute fragment of matter that is at
 006 the same time a universe, a beggar who communi-
 007 cates with absolute being, mortal flesh whose value
 008 is eternal, a bit of straw into which heaven enters.
 009 It is this metaphysical mystery that religious
 010 thought points to when it says that the person is the
 011 image of God. The value of the person, his dignity
 012 and his rights belong to the order of things
 013 naturally sacred which bear the imprint of the
 014 Father of being, and which have in Him the end of
 015 their movement.*
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835 017 Since the person is so central, it seems appropriate to
 018 say a few words about population. Obviously, every-
 019 thing said of persons will be conditioned by the
 020 number of people involved.

021 I do not believe that anyone or any group—not
 022 even the Club of Rome with their computers—has
 023 absolute wisdom about the precise number of people
 024 that would make an ideal population for our earth.
 025 Certain truths about the numbers are, however,
 026 absolute. A planet with finite, life-sustaining re-
 027 sources, some of which are being completely ex-
 028 hausted (oil, for example) can^{not} endure a constant
 029 geometric growth in population without courting
 030 global disaster. And the net population growth in the
 031 decade of the sixties, 700 million, equaled the total

not (acc)

* Principes d'une politique humaniste. (pp.13,42)

001 net growth of the nineteenth century. If the present
002 rate of growth were to continue until 2074, a century
003 hence, we would be adding a billion persons a year,
004 the present world's population every three and a half
005 years.

006 Obviously, that is not going to happen. The sad
007 fact is that we are doing an inadequate job of feeding,
008 housing, educating, and caring for the health of our
009 present population. I believe we must both slow
010 down our present net world population growth of 1.3
011 million persons a week and vastly improve our care
012 for those already dwelling on earth so as to achieve
013 progress on our present problems without further
014 complicating them while we are trying to solve them.

015 Numbers are very much a part of the problem of
016 development at present because the greatest popula-
001 017 tion growth is taking place where the greatest under-
018 development and socioeconomic problems exist.
019 India, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Indonesia
020 presently account for half the increase in the world's
021 population each year. Mexico contributes more to the
022 total than the United States, Brazil more than the
023 Soviet Union, the Philippines more than Japan—
024 demonstrating clearly that smaller, less developed
025 countries add more to net population growth than
026 larger, developed countries.

027 I believe almost everyone today concedes that
028 rational and moral population control is a desidera-
029 tum of the highest priority, although there is obvi-
030 ously a great deal of disagreement as to the proper
031 ways and means of control. Ideas range from strict

001 government control by sterilization, abortion, and
002 penalizing parents, to personal parental control by
003 whatever means their consciences dictate. Then there
004 is the actual poverty of available means of control.
005 My own judgment is that because of inadequate
006 research in the past, probably due to taboos and
007 other cultural and religious factors, we know less
008 about the biochemistry of human reproduction today
009 than we do about the breeding of most farm animals.

010 As a member of the Rockefeller Foundation
011 Board, I have constantly argued for a great increase
012 of funding to the best centers of medical and
013 biological research so that we might develop a whole
014 new array of means, many of which I believe would
015 meet any moral or cultural requirement imaginable.
016 Moreover, I have argued against the "Fuller Brush"
017 approach to population control whereby objectionable
018 means of every variety are pushed upon large
019 populations without the slightest regard for their
020 cultural, religious, or psychological characteristics—
021 the huckster approach, missionary in its fervor and
022 insensitive in its methods. Naturally, most of these
023 large target populations are poor, colored, or foreign;
024 often the results are predictably short-lived and we
025 are accused again of Yankee imperialism.

026 One current myth is that the Catholic church is the
027 great obstructor of progress in this field. The simple
028 fact is that developed or developing countries control
029 their populations, and the less developed countries do
030 not, irrespective of whether they are Catholic or not.
031 Italy has the same low rate of population growth as

001 Sweden (doubling every eighty-eight years), and
001 002 Spain the same low rate as Russia. Three predomi-
003 nantly Catholic countries, Paraguay, Ecuador, and
004 Panama, have the same high rate of growth (doubling
005 every twenty-one years) as three Moslem countries,
006 Morocco, Syria, and Pakistan. I am not arguing the
007 moral implications of these situations, although I
008 would welcome some new inspirational, spiritual, and
009 moral approaches to human sexuality, which has also
010 been largely taken over by the hucksters. Here, I am
011 simply citing the facts of the matter. Recent studies
012 by the Overseas Development Council have shown
013 that there is a constant factual correlation between
014 human development and population control.

015 The conclusion is fairly obvious. If population
016 control is a wise policy today, the surest road to its
017 realization is greater concern for human develop-
018 ment, especially where it is most needed: in the
019 Southern Hemisphere of our planet. Most of what I
020 will discuss in hopes of a better millennium to come
021 will be in that interest.

022 But again, the present facts about population are
023 ineluctable, whatever progress is made during the
024 next decades in providing new, improved, humane,
025 and moral controls. The next millennium will begin
026 with between 6 and 7 billion people inhabiting this
027 planet. The question remains: how will they be
028 housed and fed, supplied with the necessary energy
029 and natural resources for industrial processes, edu-
030 cated and politically organized for better human
031 development and peace, assuming these to be our

001 goals in the next millennium? This question is all the
002 more poignant when one considers the present dismal
003 state of each of these aspects of man's development.
004 As a recent editorial of the *New Republic* stated of
005 Americans, "We are the social wastrels, spending
006 \$2.7 billion a year on air-conditioning—roughly the
007 combined gross national products of Bolivia, Congo,
008 Liberia, Haiti and Guinea—while millions of our
009 aged lack proper care." * If we do so poorly, so
012 inequitably, so unjustly with 3.5 billion people, what
013 will we do with 6 or 7 billion having the same or even
014 heightened needs due to the revolution of rising
015 expectations? No easy question here.

016 There have been times when I have speculated that
017 the easiest way to solve the housing problems of
018 mankind would be to move the whole population of
019 the earth to the tropical zones where cold weather is
020 not a problem. Then I visited the sprawling slums of
021 Lagos, Nigeria, during a tropical rainfall and it was
022 clear that there are real shelter problems in the
023 tropics, too. The basic problem of housing is really
024 one of distributive justice. Everywhere in the world a
025 few people live in palaces—always have—and most
026 people live in shacks and shanties and cardboard or
027 wattle and mud huts. Again from the *New Republic*,
028 "The gospel of the marketplace is that the more we
029 consume the richer we are: waste and triviality equal
030 prosperity. Thus, we spend \$6 to \$8 billion on
031 cosmetics, toiletries and fragrances, and less than

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* "Wastrel of the Western World," vol. 170:1 & 2 (January, 1974), p. 6.

001 one-fifth that on subsidizing low-cost housing." *
004 And this in the United States, the richest country in
005 the world, a land of many palaces—where 6 million
006 present dwellings have been condemned as unfit for
007 human habitation. I have seen in most of our great
008 cities slum housing far worse than normal shelter for
009 farm animals. In other parts of the world, the quality
010 of housing goes lower and lower until one sees the
011 nadir in the less developed parts of Latin America,
012 Africa, and Asia. Here and there one sees bright new
013 housing schemes that seem to be working, as in
014 Singapore. But for most of humanity housing is costly
015 and money is scarce; so housing is a disaster,
016 unimaginably horrible to those Americans who have
017 seen the worst.

583 018 The present world housing problem, then, results
019 largely from the maldistribution of what is essential
020 to make human dignity at least a possibility. Another
021 contributing factor is a relatively new phenomenon
022 sweeping the whole world: urbanization. All the
023 world has witnessed the flight to the cities spurred by
024 the attraction of bright lights and the promise of
025 employment, the urban concentration of workers in
026 service and industrial enterprises, the downgrading of
027 farming as a way of life, massive refugee movements,
028 rising expectations of easy sudden wealth following
029 decolonization throughout Asia and Africa. More
030 than a third of mankind lives in cities, and the
031 prediction for the year 2000 is 60 percent. In the poor

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005 003 * Ibid.

001 countries, the present urban population of 600 mil-
002 lion is expected to grow to 3 billion by the next
003 millennium. The population of cities of Latin Amer-
004 ica is doubling every fourteen years, with Rio, Sao
005 Paulo, and Mexico City surpassing 7 million in
006 population. I have seen the results in the swollen
007 slums around Rio, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima,
008 Caracas, Mexico City—where large proportions of
009 whole national populations have flocked to the
010 capital cities to seek a better life, only to find new
011 misery. I have seen urbanization run wild in Africa
012 and Asia. Calcutta and Bombay, Kinshasa and
013 Lagos, Hong Kong and Saigon, Tokyo and Manila
014 are disaster areas.

015 Even our own country, unusual because of its
016 wealth, presents a typical example of the urbaniza-
017 tion movement. For decades, a million families a year
018 have been leaving the farms and flocking to the cities,
019 with the result that today 75 percent of our popula-
020 tion is living on 3 percent of our land. There is little
021 rhyme or reason to this maldistribution of our living
022 space, but we can hope for a better plan as we face
023 the next millennium. Here again, we might set a good
024 example. New cities are being pioneered in Britain,
025 and great cities such as Sydney, Melbourne, and
026 Adelaide were well planned from the beginning in
027 Australia, a land as large as ours with a population
028 equal to that of New York City. Here in America we
029 are experimenting with new cities like Columbia,
030 Maryland, and Reston, Virginia, where all socioeco-
031 nomic classes and races are integrated in a situation

001 that is both functional and beautiful. Open housing
002 must be part of the pattern for the future if we are to
003 solve the race problem and achieve integrated educa-
004 tion and living.

005 For the larger answer, the key elements for the next
006 millennium must be dispersal and rapid public
007 transit. Cities are important to civilization as centers
008 for education, culture, commerce, and government.
009 The problem is that we have greatly overburdened
010 our cities as living rather than working and leisure
011 spaces, allowing slums to fester and spread.

012 At present all who are able flee the city, and it
013 further deteriorates, with a shrunken tax base and
014 growing social difficulties. To compound the prob-
015 lem, industry is now also moving to the suburbs,
016 where the poor, especially the minorities needing the
017 jobs, cannot move because of restrictive and high-
001 018 cost housing in the suburbs. So they are disproport-
019 ionately out of work and the problems of poverty and
020 consequent crime are compounded.

021 We need a completely new scheme. My only
022 suggestion would be the removal of slums and the
023 dispersion of most of its housing to open areas
024 beyond the city. The city—all cities—need a com-
025 plete overhaul of facilities, both educational and
026 cultural, including parks, museums, and libraries.
027 Around each great city, to a distance of a hundred
028 miles or so, rapid transit facilities could move people
029 from where they could live graciously to where they
030 work, in a matter of half an hour or so—if only we
031 abandon the one car, one person concept that so

001 clogs our highways and pollutes our air and wastes
002 our energy.

003 If the Japanese can move trains at 120 miles an
004 hour, and I have enjoyed lunch at that speed without
005 spilling my coffee, so can we and other countries.
006 How to finance all of this? The *New Republic* reports,
007 "The kitchen towel, usable again and again, may
008 soon become obsolete: about a third of a billion
009 dollars a year are spent on paper towels for the home.
010 Place alongside that figure \$232 million in federal
011 cash outlays in fiscal '72 for urban mass transporta-
012 tion." * Clearly, the question is one of priorities. Ten
015 cents additional gasoline tax would net ten billion
016 additional dollars a year here in America; twenty
017 cents, twenty billion. Even with presently rising
018 prices, our gasoline costs only half as much as
019 Europe's. Funds raised by such taxes could be
020 earmarked for public transportation, rather than
021 more roads. Priorities.

022 In any event we cannot continue to allow cities to
023 decay and watch all civility die out in the process.
024 The rest of the world's housing problem is far worse
025 than ours and will probably need far more govern-
026 mental intervention and planning, as has worked so
027 well in Singapore. Our problem is more manageable,
028 even though the Nixon administration has removed
029 federal subsidies to housing, and we should therefore
030 serve as leaders in correcting it. I predict that we will
031 begin to handle this problem better as the new

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005 014 * Ibid.

001 millennium approaches, simply because it cannot
002 continue as it is—a truly national disgrace.
003

583 004 I want now to speak about food, not because I
005 believe that man lives by bread alone, but because in
006 the matter of human development I have always been
007 impressed by that wonderful earthly wisdom of St.
008 Teresa of Avila. She said, "If a hungry man asks you
009 to teach him how to pray, you had better feed him
010 first." And with all due respect to this ancient
011 Christian tradition of giving bread to the hungry, I
012 have been further impressed by Ghandi's wisdom in
013 saying, "Give me a fish and I will eat today. Teach
014 me how to fish and I will eat every day."

015 Food has been a perennial problem for mankind.
016 We link the Eskimo with the seal and the salmon, the
017 Sioux with the buffalo, the Inca with potatoes, the
018 Mexican with corn and beans, the Oriental with rice,
019 the tropical African with cassava or manioc. I should
020 add in jest—although it is a bit of black humor—the
021 American with hamburgers. Even though we raise
022 more beef than any other country, we import one
023 third of all the beef produced by the rest of them,
024 which is really saying something in a largely hungry
025 world. On the other hand, we have been generous
026 with food grains from our surplus, which is now
027 largely depleted because of Russian and Chinese
028 demands and drought disasters around the world,
029 especially in India and Africa. This should caution
030 against the myth that America can feed the world.
031 We have had a working buffer of 60 million acres of

001 agricultural land, not the best, sometimes all in use
002 when needed and other times in reserve when stocks
003 are high. That is the only buffer there has been, and
004 we are now using most of this acreage. World
005 demand for food has increased by 50 percent, while
006 current reserve food stocks worldwide are the lowest
007 they have been in twenty years. A few more natural
008 disasters and we may find it difficult to provide help.

009 This past summer, I visited the drought and famine
001 010 areas of three Sahelian countries, Senegal, Mauri-
011 tania, and Mali. I looked into the faces of hungry
012 men, women, and children living on the edge of the
013 desert. After four years of practically no rainfall their
014 animals had all died, depriving them of milk and
015 meat and their whole nomadic way of life. Here one
016 learns that behind the dismal statistics there is a
017 human condition that demands a solution. We were
018 flying into Timbuktu and Gao fifteen tons of food
019 grains per airplane each day, with three airplanes
020 available. This is the eyedropper approach to the
021 plight of hundreds of thousands of people, minimally
022 effective, but underlining the crying need for a better
023 long range solution. There are few sights more
024 heartrending than human beings without food or
025 drink. One understands, in seeing them, the premium
026 the good Lord placed on feeding the hungry and
027 giving drink to the thirsty. We must respond in a
028 more long range manner than these risky C-130
029 flights responding to cyclical crises.

030 The largest question regarding food is how we can
031 feed a world with hundreds of millions presently

001 undernourished and 5 million additional people to be
002 fed each month. I believe there are two basic answers,
003 apart from what we have already said about popula-
004 tion control. The first answer is the green revolution:
005 better genetic stocks of seed for higher productivity,
006 better nutritional quality in all human food stuffs,
007 and, of course, better animal and fish production for
008 protein. The second answer is more land for agricul-
009 ture. One thing is certain. Granting a population of 6
010 to 7 billion people in the year 2000, food production
011 will at least have to double in the next three decades
012 the total annual production achieved since the begin-
013 ning of formal agriculture 10,000 years ago—and this
014 would only sustain the present nutritional levels,
015 which are insufficient for two thirds of the world's
016 population.

017 My knowledge of the green revolution comes
018 primarily from observing the great agricultural pro-
019 grams of the Rockefeller, Ford, and Kellogg Founda-
020 tions, as well as the governmental aid programs that
021 have now joined them in their worldwide efforts.
022 Perhaps the best example of what private initiative
023 and a few well-spent dollars can produce is the rice
024 program. A little over a decade ago, the Rockefeller
025 and Ford Foundations decided to support some
026 serious rice research. Rice has been the staple food
027 throughout the Orient for thousands of years, but no
028 thorough research had ever been done on it. The
029 foundations decided to make this an international
030 project, governed by a board made up of plant and
031 rice scientists from all over the Orient. The Interna-

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001 tional Rice Research Institute was located at Los
002 BAños, outside Manila. I have been there three times,
003 and never cease to wonder at what has been accom-
004 plished in so short a time, and at such relatively low
005 price (at the same cost as a few supersonic military
006 aircraft).

007 Every known species of rice—there are over
008 10,000—was gathered, classified, and stored. Some
009 250 of the best species were identified according to a
010 check list of about thirty qualities, ranging from
011 reaction to fertilizers during growth to taste and
012 nutritional value. The better species were genetically
013 crossed to get one of the best. New fertilizers were
014 devised that could be sparingly used to reduce cost to
015 the poor farmer. The stem borer, a rice pest, used to
016 be attacked by spraying insecticides, but the first
017 rainfall washed it off the plants. IRRI devised a new
018 systemic insecticide to be put into the irrigation
019 water, picked up by the root system, and deposited
020 throughout the plant so that the moths are killed
021 before the larvae can be laid to eat out the lymphatic
022 system. The meter high stems of the better rice
023 varieties like peta from Taiwan used to lodge—to
024 bend over—so that rats would eat large quantities
025 before it could be harvested. They also received less
026 sunlight while lodging. Genetically, the stem was
027 shortened to about half a meter, and a simple
028 electrified short chicken wire fence was devised to
029 eliminate the rats. Robert Chandler, the founder and
030 first director of IRRI, told me that the first harvest of
031 their first improved variety, IRRI-8, using the same

001 land and the same farmers, delivered a crop \$1.3
002 billion more valuable than the year previous. The
003 next year's crop made an advance of over three
004 billion dollars. There have been at least four addi-
005 tional improved varieties since then. Between 1966
006 and 1970, the amount of land on which new varieties
007 of rice and wheat were planted, mainly in Asia, grew
008 from 41 thousand to almost 44 million acres, with
009 spectacular results. The new millennium must see
010 much more of this kind of imaginative, highly
011 scientific approach to agriculture.

012 Following the success of IRRI, and an earlier
013 success during the forties with hybrid corn in Mexico,
014 under the leadership of Dr. George Harrar (subse-
015 quently president of the Rockefeller Foundation),
016 there has been established a whole network of
017 research stations in tropical agriculture at El Baton in
018 Mexico; Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de
019 Maiz y Trigo (CIMMYT), Centro Internacional de
020 Agricultura Tropical (CIAT) at Palmyra, in the
021 Cuaca Valley of Colombia; International Institute
022 for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) at Ibadan in Nigeria;
023 International Crop Research Institute for Semi-Arid
024 Tropics (ICRISAT) in Hyderabad, India; a potato
025 center in Peru. All of these centers interact and most
026 of them have satellite or field stations in different
027 climatic situations. When I visited the field station at
028 Toluca, outside Mexico City, the plant breeder
029 explained that each promising strain of seed goes
030 through at least seven plantings, first to establish
031 resistance to disease, and then to increase productiv-

001 ity. Samples are sent to eighty different counties for
002 experimental planting under different conditions of
003 climate and crop disease. There is a constant effort at
004 improvement so that the world does not get locked
005 into a monoculture.

006 There is also a concern in these centers not just for
007 bigger and more disease-resisting crops, but for better
008 food products from the standpoint of protein, amino
009 acids, and vitamins. For example, in 1963 Edwin
010 Mertz and his Purdue associates discovered a high
011 lysine gene lost when hybrid corn was developed,
012 called Opaque-2. When the gene was reintroduced,
013 the corn had several times more vegetable protein
014 than before. I saw a litter of pigs in Colombia, half of
015 whom had been fed regular corn and half Opaque-2
016 corn. The latter half of the litter was, after three
017 months of feeding, twice the size of the former. It is
018 now hoped that a similar gene may be identified for
019 the other food grains. In October 1972, Purdue
020 scientists, after screening nine thousand varieties of
021 sorghum, found two Ethiopian strains with a high
022 lysine gene that will almost triple the protein quality
023 of normal sorghum strains.

024 The world is in large part protein starved. When
025 properly balanced, vegetable protein is a perfect
026 substitute for animal protein. There are also new
001 027 approaches to animal protein, such as planting *tila-*
028 *pia*, a milk fish, in the irrigated rice fields where it
029 could be harvested with the rice. Hundreds of
030 millions of tons of additional protein could be
031 obtained this way, and in the lands where it is most

Tilapia

001 needed. This is one more example of an unorthodox
002 solution to an old problem.

003 Recent research has shown that early nutritional
004 deficiency in the child results in poor brain develop-
005 ment and damage to the central nervous system. By
006 age one and a half, a child has all the brain cells he
007 will ever have. Some poor Indian children get only
008 about 500 calories a day during the first five years of
009 life. Wherever this is happening, we are diminishing
010 human mental capacity irreparably. One would hope
011 that adequate nutrition for every human would be
012 the minimal, essential goal for this whole planet
013 during the next millennium. It is possible to conquer
014 hunger, but agriculture must begin to have a higher
015 priority and greater support than armaments. When
016 children are diminished in their essential human
017 capacity and the development of mankind is weak-
018 ened, what is there left to defend?

019 I would insist on the necessity of massive action,
020 fully supported by the governments involved, even
021 when pioneered by private initiative, as most of the
022 above projects were. The study to emphasize the need
023 for tropical agriculture research was done by the
024 National Academy of Sciences with government
025 support. Four hundred and fifty scientific man years
026 were spent in the effort. Their report was superb
027 scientifically, but absurd politically, and thus aban-
028 doned by the government. A handful of us, under the
029 leadership of Harrison Brown, international vice-
030 president of the academy, and George Harrar of the
031 Rockefeller Foundation, put the project back on the

001 track, initiated it with Foundation money, and now
002 several governments are supporting it, including our
003 own and those of Canada, Great Britain, and Ger-
004 many.

005 The effectiveness of these programs is impressive
006 when massive effort is involved. Several of us were
007 involved in West Pakistan's food plight some years
008 ago, under the leadership of President Kennedy's
009 science advisor, Jerome Wiesner (now president of
010 M.I.T.). We were all so busy we could only meet and
011 work at the White House on Sundays. Forty-two
012 thousand tons of seed from the new short stemmed
013 durum wheat developed at the center in Mexico were
001 014 shipped to West Pakistan. Four years later, Pakis-
015 tan's problem was where to store the surplus wheat
016 the new seed had produced.

017 I have gone into this detail to suggest what is
018 possible if our leaders, especially in the less devel-
019 oped countries, begin to understand that agriculture
020 is initially more important than steel mills, national
021 jet air lines, and military establishments. Hungry and
022 undernourished people simply lack the energy to
023 build a nation, even to live a human life or plan a
024 better one.

025 But the problem is far from being solved on a
026 technical level, whatever the progress made in the
027 cultivation of rice, wheat, corn, millet, sorghum,
028 potatoes, yucca, cassava, and the genetic improve-
029 ment of animal herds. This is an economic, as well as
030 an agricultural problem, involving land tenure and
031 the scientific study of the best land usage, credit,

001 marketing, housing, and a wide variety of allied
002 concerns. I would hope that the larger, less developed
003 countries might do in macrocosm what the small
004 island of Formosa has done in microcosm through
005 their Joint Council on Rural Reconstruction. This is
006 a spectacular project, applying new economic and
007 technical insights in small farmer community centers,
008 where education and health care are available as well.
009 India has attempted something of the same with
010 considerable, though more limited success because of
011 its size and recent droughts. Latin America, Africa,
012 and many parts of Asia could well emulate the
013 J.C.R.R. of Formosa in the next millennium, but they
014 should begin tomorrow.

015 Even if we could perfect agriculture to the nth
016 degree, the new millennium would still face, with a
017 growing population—even growing at a slower rate—
018 the prospect of running out of arable land for food
019 crops and grazing land for herds. There are a few
020 great tracts left, like the llanos beyond the mountains
021 in Colombia and Venezuela. The Amazon basin is
022 enormous, but the soil is thin and leaches quickly
023 when the tropical forest is removed. Argentina is a
024 magnificent land, though underpopulated, and with-
025 out any real growth in agricultural productivity
026 during the last fifty years. On the other hand,
027 countries like Bangladesh have an impossible density
028 of population. The new millennium will certainly see
001 029 the opening up of what few untouched or underpopu-
030 lated areas there are on this planet; nevertheless, in
031 order to feed well the world's population, we will

001 have to face the challenge of raising food in the
002 oceans that cover the largest part of the earth's
003 surface and of recovering for agriculture the third of
004 our total land mass classified as desert, lost to
005 agriculture entirely, although it has much good soil
006 and sunlight year round, lacking only water.

007 During one of the general conferences of the
008 International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, I
009 heard Alvin Weinberg, director of the U.S. Oak
010 Ridge National Laboratory, outline a plan that could
011 recover for agriculture and agricultural industry all of
012 these arid lands. This could be one of the major
013 projects of the new millennium: an enhancement of
014 earth's resources that will undoubtedly be needed if
015 we are to feed and employ twice the number of
016 people now living. The plan involves the use of
017 fast-breeder nuclear reactors for electrical energy
018 production and water desalination. Weinberg bases
019 the economy of the project on massive size and the
020 fact that the fast-breeder produces 400 megawatts of
021 electricity and 250 million gallons of water a day—
022 more fuel than it consumes. Using the cheap electric-
023 ity to power about ten chemical industries around the
024 power plant, including the production of fertilizer,
025 would make the use of electricity to pump water to
026 the fields economically feasible. The new drip-
027 method, underground irrigation system pioneered in
028 Israel uses only 60 percent as much water as open-
029 ditch irrigation, and would avoid the plague of
030 schistosomiasis that is afflicting the great irrigation
031 project associated with the Aswan Dam in Egypt and

001 the Volta in Ghana. Two of these reactors would
002 open up fifteen hundred square miles of desert land
003 to agriculture. Fortunately, many of our great deserts
004 are adjacent to salt water in abundance—the Sahara
005 in North Africa, the Atacama in Chile and Peru, and
006 the great northern Australian desert to mention a
007 few.

008 I do not underestimate the difficulty involved in
009 perfecting great fast-breeder reactors and reducing
010 the cost of desalinating water, but under the impulse
011 of the energy and food crises, I am convinced that it
012 will be done by the next millennium. Meanwhile, we
013 are learning more about arid-lands agriculture
014 through ongoing projects at Puerto Penasco, Sonora,
015 Mexico, and at Sadiyat in the sheikdom of Abu
016 Dhabi on the Arabian Peninsula, both of which were
017 initiated by the University of Arizona. The latter
018 project, involving a hundred acres enclosed by fiber
019 glass and polyethylene plastic, is already producing a
001 020 ton of produce a day: cucumbers, eggplants, toma-
021 toes, turnips. Cost is still a limiting factor in these
022 projects, since they are using oil diesels for desalina-
023 tion. Weinberg's scheme would ultimately be more
024 viable, but will profit by the arid land agricultural
025 techniques now being pioneered in the smaller proj-
026 ects.

027 There is a political aspect to all of this that is not
028 insubstantial in looking ahead. Formerly, power
029 plants had to be placed near the sources of fossil fuels
030 or water power. Nuclear plants carry their own fuel
031 and, in the case of fast-breeders, produce additional

001 fuel. Should the thermonuclear reaction of hydrogen
002 fusion ever be harnessed, electrical power would be
003 practically free. I would predict that this is still a long
004 way off, however, because of the 100 million degree
005 temperatures involved. But even nuclear fission reac-
006 tors can be placed anywhere politically expedient and
007 helpful.

008 When I first heard Weinberg's scheme, I thought of
009 a use that would certainly be politically expedient.
010 Apart from territorial considerations and senseless
011 hates, the great bone of contention today between the
012 Arabs and the Israeli is the presence of the million
013 Palestinian refugees. Even were the Arabs and Israeli
014 to begin to talk, as now seems more possible, the
015 Palestinians could be counted upon to cause a
016 crisis—a Munich or a Khartum—to draw attention
017 to their still unsettled plight. Now, after the Yom
018 Kippur war, the Geneva conference for peace will be
019 complicated by the Palestinian question. Until this
020 inhumane condition is settled, the problem solved to
021 everyone's satisfaction, it will continue to exacerbate
022 the situation.

023 But suppose there were created in an Arab coun-
024 try—Egypt or Jordan—and in Israel these large
025 installations, both feeding into a common electrical
026 and water grid, to open up hundreds of thousands of
027 acres in the Sinai now useless for year-round agricul- *2r*
028 ture. Suppose that Palestinians were given first choice
029 of this land—land far more productive than that of
030 the West Jordan—with proper credit arrangements,
031 twice as much land as each family lost, and special

001 provision for children born in exile since the first
002 Arab-Israeli war. One could not force Palestinians to
003 take this land, but at least it would be available where
004 none is now. The whole project could be placed
005 under the control of the International Atomic Energy
006 Agency and could be financed internationally. If
007 successful, it would not only be a large step toward
008 peace, but it would be an enormous pilot project for
009 the next millennium's need for additional agricultural
010 land. By way of postscript, similar large-scale projects
011 would be a natural and normal investment outlet for
012 the huge sums now being generated from the sale of
013 Middle Eastern oil. It would seem both plausible and
014 profitable to reinvest some of these monies in the area
015 that generated them and which is still in dire need of
016 development in modern agriculture, education, hous-
017 ing, and health care.

018 This area was the cradle of civilization. In the
019 Middle Ages Arabs and Jews, particularly Avicenna
020 and Averroes, kept alive the ancient wisdom of the
021 Greek philosophers, promoting mathematics, archi-
022 tecture, astronomy, and medicine—and bringing all
023 of this to an intellectually decadent Europe. The
024 Middle East might yet become a cradle of revived
025 culture if the constant threat of war and the flood of
026 verbal hatred is replaced by a common endeavor for
027 peace and justice by all Semitic peoples. Providing
028 food may seem to be a banal approach to such a lofty
029 dream, but people have often learned to cooperate
030 when survival was at stake, and there will be fewer
031 worldwide endeavors more related to survival on

⁰⁰¹ earth in the new millennium than the adequate
~~002~~ production of food for all its inhabitants.

483 001 5 Toward a Global Education

008 002

835 003 We now move to a somewhat higher plane. If men
004 and women can achieve the basic necessities of life,
005 food and shelter, it still remains a problem to make
006 life human, beautiful, intellectually and morally satis-
007 fying. The preparation for this falls under the broad
008 rubric of education, beginning with the rudimentary
009 verbal skills of literacy and quantitative reasoning,
010 and passing on to the sciences (natural, physical, and
011 social), technology, law, medicine, theology, litera-
012 ture, music, dance, and drama—all that we subsume
013 under the word culture, or more broadly, in its
014 organized form, civilization. One might say that we
015 already have most of this well in hand, but remember
016 that there are over 300 million children today who
017 have never been in a school and probably never will
018 be. Despite all the efforts of UNESCO, the many
019 governmental aid programs, and the overseas proj-
020 ects of the great foundations, there are more illiter-
021 ates in the world today than there were a decade or
022 two ago: probably a third of humanity. Unless we

001 can devise some ingenious new plan, there will be an
002 ever increasing number of illiterates during the next
003 millennium.

004 If we are presently slipping backward, what of the
005 future, with increasing numbers of children arriving
006 each day? Faulkner said, when receiving the Nobel
007 Prize for literature in Stockholm, that man will not
008 simply endure, he will prevail. This is a brave
009 announcement, but not one that will automatically
010 be fulfilled. Today less than half of the children in
011 Latin America ever enter a schoolroom. The figure is
012 worse in sub-Saharan Africa and vast regions of Asia.
013 And the number of children involved will double
014 between now and the year 2000. Further, the educa-
015 tional gap of this generation is the technological gap
016 of the next, perpetuating the inevitable economic gap
017 between rich and poor, educated and uneducated,
018 developed and underdeveloped. As children grow up,
019 the educational problem of this generation becomes
020 the unemployment problem of the next.

021 I have spoken of children, but there are also
022 hundreds of millions of adults who share a hunger for
023 knowledge that matches their physical hunger for
024 food. I remember flying from Tangier to Casablanca
025 alongside a Tuareg who watched me read my brevi-
026 ary. Finally, he reached into his pack and brought
027 out a copy of the Koran, which he pretended to read,
028 turning the pages of Arabic script slowly and sol-
029 emnly. When I finished, I asked him if he knew what
030 he was reading. "Not really," he said, "but I know
031 that it must be beautiful." When the stewardess

001 handed out the entrance visas, I had to fill his out for
002 him. "When were you born," I asked. "I don't really
003 know," he said, "You just fill in something for me."

004 I had never before realized what a deprivation
005 illiteracy must be. Teilhard de Chardin speaks of the
006 noösphere, a vast envelope matching the biosphere
007 that encircles our globe. The noösphere represents
008 the total production of man's intelligence and creativ-
009 ity, the total human culture of the world. To be
010 completely cut off from this most precious patrimony
011 must be the most cruel deprivation of all, and it
012 afflicts unnecessarily about a third of all people on
013 earth. The saddest part is that it is likely to afflict an
014 even greater portion in the millennium to come. But
015 there is a way out of this dilemma—a way not
016 possible twenty-five years ago, but quite possible
017 today.

018 I do not believe the global educational problem is
019 solvable by conventional means: the building of
020 classrooms, even in remote areas, and the preparation
021 of a vast army of teachers. Very affluent countries
022 may continue to pursue education this way, but even
023 we in America have, almost without realizing it,
024 created a vast system of nonconventional, continuing
025 education that today serves to educate more people
026 than the conventional system, ranging from kinder-
027 garten to the university. We have certainly come to
028 the time when we need to entertain some new and
029 creative thoughts about the total enterprise of educa-
030 tion, especially as it affects the less developed
031 countries, which will become comparatively less and

001 less developed without some new system of educa-
002 tion.

003 A whole series of unrelated instruments developed
004 since World War II has given us a communication
005 capacity hitherto impossible. These new inventions
006 are television, synchronous satellites, computers with
007 vast memory banks of magnetic tape and the capac-
008 ity for instant retrieval of billions of individual items,
009 systems for miniaturizing stored materials (the whole
010 Bible can be recorded on a postage-stamp size card),
011 instant xerographic copying, the SNAP system for
012 miniaturized atomic power units in satellites, and,
013 with this additional power, the capability of millions
014 of channels aboard a satellite for receiving and
015 transmitting, ultimately transmitting directly from
016 satellite to television set without the intervention (and
017 interference and control) of a central ground receiv-
018 ing station. There are other marvels to come, but
019 these, with the exception of the elimination of the
020 ground station, are already in being now—though as
021 stated above, none of them existed twenty-five years
022 ago. It is not difficult to see what a combination of
023 these would mean in developing a whole new ap-
024 proach to world education.

025 Thanks to the space program, we are now capable
026 of launching and maintaining in space three synchro-
027 nous satellites. These could be located above the
028 Equator at three positions equidistant from each
029 other, five and one half earth's radii out from the
030 earth (about 23,400 miles), and traveling just under
031 escape velocity so that they would remain in exactly

001 the same spot in relation to the earth's rotation. From
002 these three satellites millions of television programs
003 could be transmitted to any spot on earth.

583 004 Three educational data banks could also be
005 launched, one below each satellite. These data banks,
006 to oversimplify, would contain the noösphere. It
007 would be contained in several world languages,
008 although in some areas of knowledge, such as sci-
009 ence, English would emerge, as is now happening, as
010 the one world language. Courses would be organized
011 and recorded for the data bank ranging from literacy
012 in a world language to astrophysics, each taught by
013 the very best teacher in the world in that field, with
014 all of the best visual aids. I cannot remember a
015 clearer lesson in my life than that about the transura-
016 nium elements from Glenn Seaborg, for he discov-
017 ered and predicted most of them. No more would any
018 great teacher, anywhere in the world, be lost to
019 mankind. Had this been possible in an earlier age, we
001 020 could now hear Einstein on relativity theory, Oppen-
021 heimer on physics, Lavoisier on chemistry, Shake-
022 speare on drama, Galileo on astronomy, Copernicus
023 on his new theory of the solar system, and Keppler,
024 Descartes, Newton in mathematics—on and on
025 though the arts and sciences. We could sit at the feet
026 of all the great philosophers, theologians, novelists,
027 poets, artists, and architects.

028 Schools are as good as their teachers. As one who
029 has visited schools, colleges, universities the world
030 over for many years—as a kind of busman's holiday
031 during our vacation time and in connection with

001 Peace Corps and university projects under many
002 auspices—I can assure you that the further one goes
003 from the centers of development, the poorer are the
004 schools and the more depressing the quality of
005 teaching. At a certain point it becomes the blind
006 leading the blind, going nowhere. Now the genius of
007 television is that the greatest teachers in the world
008 can teach everyone who can see or hear them.
009 Worldwide educational television would mean that
010 even the local apprentice teachers would be taught
011 every time they supervised a class taught by a great
012 teacher.

013 Nothing of human culture, no great teacher, would
014 ever again be lost to anyone on earth who had access
015 to a television set and a directory telling him the
016 proper number to dial to inform the satellite to signal
017 the computer to retrieve and transmit within seconds,
018 back through the satellite, the proper program in the
019 proper language to the person requesting it. Never
020 again would it matter where the person desiring an
021 education happened to be, whether in a remote
022 Andean village, an oasis in the Sahara, a craggy
023 outpost in the Hindu Kush range of Afghanistan, a
024 remote Pacific island, or an Arctic igloo. Nor would it
025 matter what kind of an education he or she wished to
026 have. Whatever is a valid subject for education would
027 be included in the ever-growing educational data
028 bank and would be instantly available.

029 Think of what this would mean, first in the case of
001 030 literacy. The remotest village would have its miniatu
031 /rized atomic-powered television set with an appren-

001 tice teacher to operate it—no greatly complicated
002 task—and to help the learners get started with
003 elementary literacy and mathematics. Then there
004 would be all the other lessons needed most in less
005 developed countries around the world: special
006 courses for adults in health, agriculture, sanitation,
007 crop planning by region, marketing, child care, home
008 economics, nutrition. One can easily visualize an
009 international corps, not unlike the Peace Corps, to
010 help organize the total endeavor and train local
011 paraprofessionals to carry it on. These local guardi-
012 ans of the television could be trained further by
013 television when needed as an additional aid in
014 learning. Moreover, the sets could be equipped to
015 reproduce materials from the tube, diagrams, charts,
016 even whole books of every description.

017 One of the worst features of rural life is boredom
018 and isolation, and most of the population of less
019 developed countries lives reluctantly in rural areas.
020 This is what fuels urbanization, with all its evils. The
021 presence of music and drama and opera, sports and
022 news, learning and entertainment, could bring the
023 best features of the cities into remote areas and give
024 them new life. There are great human values to be
025 learned from primitive peoples in rural areas, as our
026 American Peace Corps volunteers have often told
027 me: peace they never knew in the hurly-burly of
028 modern living, Family values, hospitality—simple
029 joys. Much of this is lost through urbanization.
030 Remove boredom and isolation and lack of educa-
031 tional opportunity from the rural areas, and the trend

001 to move away might be reversed, with a much better
002 distribution of the earth's population on its available
003 space.

004 High intelligence, character, and genius exist all
005 over the world, almost at random, and much of this
006 scarce human resource is lost to humanity for lack of
007 educational opportunity. I know, for example, a poor
008 youngster born in a small village in the mountain
009 area of West Pakistan. Someone noticed his innate
010 mathematical ability and sent him to a distant
011 elementary school, where he indeed showed great
012 promise. He was sent from there to a more distant
013 high school and thence to Cambridge, England, to
014 study under one of the greatest physicists of our time
015 in the Cavendish Laboratory. Without such interven-
016 tion, this man, still young, would today be herding
017 sheep across the border from Kashmir. Instead he is
018 directing the International Center for Theoretical
019 Physics, which enrolls promising scientists from the
020 less developed countries.

021 Another boy was indeed herding sheep, in a rugged
022 area of Yugoslavia, when someone perceptive saw
023 him whittling figures from stray pieces of wood. He
024 apprenticed the boy to the local stone cutter, where
025 he was again noticed by someone, who sent him to
026 study with Rodin in Paris. At nineteen, he had his
027 own showing of sculpture there and became world
028 famous, beautifying the world throughout his life.

029 And one young man was brought to my attention
030 by a Colombian priest, Monsignor Joachim Salcedo,
031 who was operating a literacy program called Radio

001 001 Sutatenza for the isolated mountain-dwelling cam-
002 pesinos North and West of Bogota. He claimed to
003 have taught 2 million illiterates to read and write by
004 radio, and published a paper for them, *El Campesino*,
005 to continue their education. He told me of this
006 promising young man who had learned to read and
007 write in one of the mountaintop radio schools. This
008 young man eventually came to the University of
009 Notre Dame where he studied electrical engineering.
010 Later, he received a graduate degree in business from
011 an Ivy League university. He is now greatly aiding
012 the economic growth of his own country.

013 All three of these men might have been performing
014 far below their talents had they not been noticed—a
015 chance affair—and educated. The world would have
016 been poorer by far. And thousands of such talented
017 people are being wasted today simply because they
018 lack this educational opportunity. No one happens to
019 notice them and do something to send them on their
020 way upward. Worldwide educational television, a
021 kind of university of the world, would begin to fill
022 this crucial gap by liberating intelligent and talented
023 men and women to learn, develop their talents, and
024 serve others. My three friends were fortunate. Many
025 others are not. We cannot continue to let chance
026 decide.

027 One immediate objection to any scheme is cost.
028 But let me remind you that in our country, *Sesame*
029 *Street* reached half the children between three and
030 five years of age and rendered them semiliterate when
031 they arrived in kindergarten two years later. The cost

001 was less than a penny per day per child reached. The
002 total scheme here presented for the world cost far less
003 than the total annual world budget for armaments,
004 \$200 billion. I need not add that most armament
005 expenditures are dead capital, whereas there are few
006 investments more productive than education. The
007 alternatives to this scheme are growing world illiter-
008 acy, wasted talent, hopelessness in further develop-
009 ment, frustration, violence, war. What are the cost of
010 these? More dead capital.

011 The cost of this project would also be far less than
012 the expense of building classrooms and providing
013 teachers for a billion people, if even it could be
014 done—and the fact is, with herculean efforts, we have
015 fallen far short of the goal. Wherever a television set
016 were, there would be a classroom: in a town hall,
017 under a tree, even in a church or temple—for truth
018 and learning are indeed godly. And wherever there is
019 a classroom where people really learn, there is new
020 hope and fulfillment. What we cannot afford is to let
021 these die.

022 An objection comes from the developed countries,
023 who fear this would interfere with their existing
024 systems of schools, colleges, and universities. I do not
025 think it would. The educational establishment, with
026 few exceptions, is presently too entrenched and too
027 conservative to make adequate use of the new
028 technology. That is why continuing education has
029 grown up largely outside the present formal systems
030 of education and has pioneered far more with
031 technological aids largely unused by conventional

(actually ⁱⁿ were
in OK)

001 education. There is much to be said for person-to-
002 person education, but in the present world, there just
003 are not enough logs and Mark Hopkinses, given the
004 dire need in the less developed and largely illiterate
005 parts of the world. UNESCO is already proposing a
006 satellite plan for education in India, which is 70
007 percent illiterate, and which presently spends five
008 dollars per student annually, one two-hundredth of
009 the United States expenditures. Brazil and Indonesia
010 are also interested. I would suggest, as one of our
011 priority endeavors in approaching the new millen-
012 nium, that we test the technique with one satellite
013 and one data bank in the Western Hemisphere. I
014 believe that with proper leadership and resources it
015 will work, especially since we are dealing with a
016 limited number of languages: Spanish and Portu-
017 guese in Central and South America, English and
018 French in the North.

019 I should add here that I visualize this continental
020 and world endeavor as a two-way street, not as
021 another exercise in cultural imperialism. All parts of
022 the world have much to learn from each other. The
023 richness and variety of human culture should not be
024 homogenized. All should have a say in what goes into
025 the data bank and in what form. If it is successful,
026 one would hope that the university of the world will
027 eventually become a reality, and illiteracy a bad
028 dream of times past.

029 There is yet another hurdle facing the full realiza-
030 tion of the potential inherent in a university of the
031 world. Even if the project could be financed, there is

001 the political obstacle that has always been the enemy
002 of universities anywhere, under whatever auspices.
003 When universities began, in the Middle Ages, they
004 were Catholic. The first and the greatest, founded in
005 Paris in 1205, soon had to seek a papal charter to
006 remove its faculty and students from the control of
007 the local civil and church authorities. Ever since,
008 universities have been struggling to maintain their
009 academic freedom and autonomy. The 1965 general
010 conference of the International Association of Uni-
011 versities, a UNESCO dependency, had for its general
012 theme "The Freedom and Autonomy of the Univer-
013 sity." Despite all the rhetoric at the Tokyo meeting, it
014 soon became obvious that whatever the auspices or
015 geopolitical locations of the universities, they all were
016 still struggling to maintain their freedom and auton-
017 omy against both external and internal pressures.
018 Nor could a university of the world hope to escape
019 the eternal tension between those who believe in
020 intellectual freedom and those who do not.

021 I am reminded of a petty but powerful ruler whose
022 subjects were grievously afflicted with trachoma and
023 blindness. A friend of mine who had a large commer-
024 cial interest in that country was struck with compas-
025 sion at the sight of so many blind people, especially
026 when the disease could be easily arrested by applying
027 sulfa salve to the eyes. He obtained a million dollars
028 and persuaded a drug company to prepare the drug
029 in handy small capsules. When he told the ruler of his
030S plan, this bully said, "Nothing doing. Leave my

001 people alone. They're much easier to rule when they
002 are half or fully blind."

003 This may well represent in parable form the
004 reaction of the politically powerful of the world
005 nations when they are confronted with the possibility
006 of their people's free and open access to all knowl-
007 edge—history and science, not to mention political
008 theories or religious concepts other than their own,
009 and understanding of cultural differences—and with
010 hopes, new aspirations, and quickly rising expecta-
011 tions, perhaps for justice and equity and real human
012 freedom in today's world. The same answer may be
013 forthcoming: "Nothing doing. Leave my people
014 alone. They are easier to rule when they are half or
015 fully blind."

016 True development means the liberation of man-
017 kind to be truly human. The acid test of development
018 in the next millennium may be whether or not
019 political authorities will allow people to be truly free,
020 to have access to what is known about politics,
021 religion, culture, as well as a wide variety of other
022 human realities that really liberate a man or woman.
023 We faced the same dilemma in a smaller context
024 when printing began and literacy spread throughout
025 Europe. It is difficult to calculate the effect on rising
026 expectations of the now almost omnipresent transis-
027 tor radio. But we do know that attempts to jam
028 programs were as massive as attempts to transmit
029 them.

030S The Lord once said that the children of darkness

001 are wiser in their generation than the children of
002 light. I caught a glimpse of this in a few sketchy news
003 reports from Paris regarding a UNESCO board
004 meeting that dealt with television communication. A
005 rather harsh resolution was debated, to the effect that
006 all satellite transmitted programs had to pass through
007 a ground station and whether or not they would be
008 allowed to enter a particular country would be under
009 the complete control of government authorities. That
010 some countries were promoting this restriction was
011 not surprising. My greater concern was that the
012 delegates from more open countries—including our
013 own—were not fighting for freedom. I said to myself,
014 “There goes another great idea,” another victory for
015 the children of darkness, with the children of light
016 asleep, as the Lord foretold.

017 It was not lost on totalitarian regimes that the new
018 communications technology was enormously power-
019 ful, especially in the realm of ideas. Our landing on
020 the moon was televised worldwide and watched
021 almost everywhere television was available (there are
022 still some large countries holding the line against it). I
023 remember standing in front of the first space photos
024 of the moon walk shown in the window of the U.S.
025 Information Service in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. I was
026 surrounded by a group of ragged little wide-eyed
027 boys who did not know a word of English, but who
028 were pointing to the pictures and yelling, as if in a
029 cheer, “Armstrong, Neil Armstrong.” I could not
030 help but think that Venetian youngsters in a different
031 age must have pointed to a man and said, “Polo,

001 Marco Polo," meaning that the world was not just
002 Venice or even Europe. The moon walk inspired an
003 instantaneous lifting of the human spirit everywhere,
004 and live television brought it even to illiterate boys in
005 far-off Addis Ababa.

006 I will not say more, except that the new millennium
007 will see far greater and more widespread develop-
008 ment of people in the truest sense—liberation of the
009 human spirit through learning—if this new approach
010 to worldwide education is indeed, as I believe it to be,
011 an idea whose time has come. No politician or group
012 of politicians should be allowed to obstruct this
013 liberation. But the U.S. cannot promote education
014 abroad simply by pumping in rhetoric, plans, or even
015 money, if we do not in our own system set an
016 example of what education can and should be. And
017 in light of recent national scandals, some intensive
018 reexamination is called for—not into our technical
019 means of education, but into the uses to which we put
020 its liberating capacity. Somewhere, in that vague
021 morass of rhetoric that has always characterized
022 descriptions of liberal education, one always finds a
023 mention of values. The true purists insist on intellec-
024 tual values, but there have always been educators,
025 particularly among founders of small liberal arts
026 colleges in the nineteenth century, who likewise
027 stressed moral values as one of the finest fruits of
028 their educational process, especially if their colleges
029 were inspired by a religious group.

030 I believe it to be a fairly obvious fact that we have
031 come full circle in our secularized times. Today one

001 hears all too little of intellectual values, and moral
002 values seem to have become a lost cause in the
001 003 educational process. I know educators of some re-
004 nown who practically tell their students, "We don't
005 care what you do around here as long as you do it
006 quietly, avoid blatant scandal, and don't give the
007 institution a bad name."

008 Part of this attitude is an overreaction to *in loco*
009 *parentis*, which goes from eschewing responsibility for
010 students' lives to just not caring how they live. It is
011 assumed that how students live has no relation to
012 their education which is, in this view, solely an
013 intellectual process. Those who espouse this view
014 would not necessarily deny that values are important
015 in life. They just do not think that they form part of
016 the higher education endeavor if, indeed, they can be
017 taught anyway.

018 Moral abdication or valuelessness seems to have
019 become a sign of the times. One might well describe
020 the illness of modern society and its schooling as
021 *anomie*, a rootlessness. I would like to say right out
022 that I do not consider this to be progress, however
023 modern and stylish it might be. The Greeks (not the
024 fraternities!) were at their best when they insisted
025 that (*arete*) excellence, was at the heart of human
026 activity at its noblest, certainly at the heart of
027 education at its civilized best. John Gardner wrote a
028 book on the subject that will best be remembered by
029 his trenchant phrase: "Unless our philosophers and
030 plumbers are committed to excellence, neither our
031 pipes nor our arguments will hold water."

001 Do values really count in a liberal education? They
002 have to count if you take the word "liberal" at its face
003 value. To be liberal, an education must somehow
004 liberate a person actually to be what every person is:
005 free. Free to be and free to do. What?

006 Excuse me for making a list, but it is important.
007 The first goal of a liberal education is to free a person
008 from ignorance which fundamentally means freedom
009 to think, clearly and logically. Moreover, allied with
010 this release from stupidity—nonthinking or poor
011 thinking—is the freedom to communicate one's
012 thoughts, hopefully with clarity, style and grace,
013 more than the Neanderthal grunt. A liberal education
014 should also enable a person to judge, which in itself
015 presupposes the ability to evaluate: to prefer this to
016 that, to say this is good and that bad, or at least this is
017 better than that. To evaluate is to prefer, to discrimi-
001 018 nate, to choose, and each of these actions presup-
019 poses a sense of values. Liberal education should also
020 enable a person to situate himself or herself within a
021 given culture, religion, race, sex, and, hopefully, to
022 appreciate what is valuable in the given situation,
023 even as simple an evaluation as "black is beautiful."
024 This, too, is a value judgment and a liberation from
025 valuelessness, insecurity and despair at times. Liberal
026 education, by all of these value-laden processes,
027 should confer a sense of peace, confidence and
028 assurance on the person thus educated and liberate
029 him or her from the adriftness that characterizes so
030 many in an age of *anomie*.

031 Lastly, a liberal education should enable a person

001 to humanize everything that he or she touches in life,
002 which is to say that one is enabled not only to
003 evaluate what one is or does, but that, in addition,
004 one adds value consciously to relationships that
005 might otherwise be banal or superficial or meaning-
006 less: relations to God, to one's fellow men, to one's
007 wife or husband or children, to one's associates, one's
008 neighborhood, one's country and world.

009 In this way, the list of what one expects of liberal
010 education is really a list of the very real values that
011 alone can liberate a person from very real evils or
012 nonvalues—stupidity, meaninglessness, inhumanity.

013 One might well ask at this juncture, "How are
014 these values attained educationally?" Again, one is
015 almost forced to make a list: language and mathe-
016 matics stress clarity, precision, and style, if well
017 taught; literature gives us insight into that vast
018 human arena of good and evil, love and hate, peace
019 and violence as real living human options. History
020 gives a vital record of mankind's success and failure,
021 hopes and fears, the heights and the depths of human
022 endeavors pursued with either heroism or depravity
023 —but always depicting real virtue or the lack of it.
024 Music and art purvey a sense of beauty seen or
025 heard, a value to be preferred to ugliness or cacoph-
026 ony. The physical sciences are a symphony of world
027 order, so often unsuccessfully sought by law, but
028 already achieved by creation, a model challenging
029 man's freedom and creativity. The social sciences
030 show man at work, theoretically and practically,
031 creating his world. Too often, social scientists in their

001 quest for a physical scientist's objectivity underrate
002 the influence of freedom—for good or for evil. While
003 a social scientist must remain objective within the
004 givens of his observable data, his best contribution
005 comes when he invokes the values that make the data
006 more meaningful, as De Tocqueville does in com-
007 menting on the values of democracy in America,
008 Barbara Ward in outlining the value of social justice
009 in a very unjust world, Michael Harrington in
010 commenting on the nonvalue of poverty. Again, it is
011 the value judgments that ultimately bring the social
012 sciences to life and make them meaningful in liber-
013 ating those who study them in the course of a liberal
014 education.

015 One might ask where the physical sciences liberate,
016 but, even here, the bursting knowledge of the physi-
017 cal sciences is really power to liberate mankind: from
018 hunger, from ignorance and superstition, from the
019 grinding poverty and homelessness that have made
020 millions of persons less than human. But the price of
021 this liberation is value: the value to use the power of
022 science for the humanization rather than the destruc-
023 tion of mankind.

024 Value is simply central to all that is liberalizing in
025 liberal education. Without value, it would be impossi-
026 ble to visualize liberal education as all that is good, in
027 both the intellectual and the moral order of human
028 development and liberation. Along the same line of
029 reasoning, Robben Fleming, president of the Univer-
030 sity of Michigan this year asked his faculty why, in
031 the recent student revolution, it was the liberal arts

001 students who so easily reverted to violence, intoler-
002 ance and illiberality. Could it not be that their actions
003 demonstrated that liberal education has begun to fail
004 in that most important of its functions: to liberate
005 man from irrationality, valuelessness and *anomie*?

006 But, one might legitimately ask, how are these
007 great values transmitted in the process of liberal
008 education? All I have said thus far would indicate
009 that the values are inherent in the teaching of the
010 various disciplines that comprise a liberal education
011 in the traditional sense. However, one should admit
012 that it is quite possible to study all of these branches
013 of knowledge, including those that explicitly treat of
014 values, philosophy and theology, without emerging as
015 a person who is both imbued with and seized by great
016 liberating and humanizing values. I believe that all
017 that this says is that the key and central factor in
018 liberal education is the teacher-educator, his percep-
019 tion of his role, how he teaches, but, particularly, how
020 he lives and exemplifies the values inherent in what
021 he teaches. Values are exemplified better than they
022 are taught, which is to say that they are taught better
023 by exemplification than by words.

024 I have long believed that a Christian university is
025 worthless in our day unless it conveys to all who
026 study within it a deep sense of the dignity of the
027 human person, his nature and high destiny, his
028 opportunities for seeking justice in a very unjust
029 world, the inherent nobility so needing to be achieved
030 by each, for himself and for others, whatever the
031 obstacles. I would have to admit, even immodestly,

001 that whatever I have said on this subject has had a
002 miniscule impression on those who have heard me,
003 compared to what I have tried to do to achieve justice
004 in our times. This really says that while value
005 education is difficult, it is practically impossible
006 unless the word is buttressed by the deed.

007 If this is true, it means that all those engaged in
008 education today must look to themselves first, to their
009 moral commitments, to their lives, and to their own
010 values which, for better or worse, will be reflected in
011 the lives and attitudes of those they seek to educate.

012 There is nothing automatic about the liberal educa-
013 tion tradition. It can die if not fostered. And if it does
014 die, the values that sustain an individual and a nation

015 are likely to die with it.

✓
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me A.

, and indeed, the world,

483 001 6 A Triregional World

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This brings us to a consideration of the political alignment of the world in the next millennium. I am on thinner ice here, for because of the nature of my personal knowledge and experience, I am indulging more in speculation than in prediction based on firm evidence. Someone once remarked to Winston Churchill that Clement Attlee was a modest man. Churchill replied, "He has a lot to be modest about." In this context, so do I. A few words are necessary on this subject, however, since what happens regarding the political organization of the world will greatly affect all else I have predicted. At least I can speak in hope.

016 Recently I read Philip Hughes's *History of the*
017 *Catholic Church*. While this is not a general history, it
018 was helpful by way of perspective to view one
019 institution that has coexisted with the first two
020 millennia and is about to move into the third,
021 enormously changed in the past decade because of
022 Vatican Council II. I might add, changed for the

001 better on most counts, as I view it, although it has
002 happened so quickly that it has shaken a lot of people
003 who need firm structures to lean on. Reading rapidly
004 through two thousand years of change creates the
005 impression that, in some spiritual, many material,
006 and most scientific and technological ways, the world
007 itself has changed more in the postwar era than in all
008 of the past two millennia. That is a very large
009 statement—one impossible to document fully—but I
010 will mention a few examples. We have printed almost
011 twice as many books since 1945 as in all the centuries
012 since printing was invented by Gutenberg. I will not
013 say we have doubled our wisdom, but knowledge has
014 increased spectacularly, particularly in the sciences,
015 more than doubling since the war. All through
016 history man was limited to the speed of running fast
017 or racing a horse, until at the turn of the century he
018 achieved fifty miles an hour with the steam engine. In
019 the next fifty years, he multiplied that speed ten
020 times, fulfilling Admiral Byrd's prediction after flying
021 the Atlantic at 90 mph in 1928 that man would
022 probably reach 500 mph in the future. It was the very
023 near future. In the period since the war, we have
024 learned to move fifty times faster than 500 mph. The
025 astronauts are going about 25,000 mph when they
026 reenter the earth's atmosphere from the moon.

027 We have used in this postwar period more energy
028 than mankind used from his advent on earth until
029 World War II. We have taken a quantum step in
030 energy production with the advent of the nuclear age
031 and will take another when we learn to harness the

001 thermonuclear reaction, the source of all the energy
002 we receive from the sun.

003 We in America have tripled our higher educational
004 endeavor during the past twenty-five years, from the
005 3 million students of 1950—the highest point since
006 the beginning of American higher education with
007 Harvard's founding in 1636—to a new high of over 9
008 million students. Faculties and facilities have also
009 tripled. We did more by twice in twenty years than
010 had been done in the preceding three centuries.

011 One could go on and on, as Toffler does in *Future*
012 *Shock*, but this should suffice as a background for the
013 political change that occurred at the same time, and
014 with comparable rapidity, changing the political
015 premises held for centuries. Since the age of explora-
016 tion in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the
017 world had been politically accustomed to the regime
018 of European empires with their vast colonial holdings
019 in Asia, Africa, and earlier, in Latin America. Then
020 suddenly, following the cataclysmic second World
021 War, Europe came apart at the seams. There was the
022 unusual historical fact of the United States, the most
023 militarily powerful and victorious state in history, not
024 wanting or taking an additional foot of territory after
025 the victory. Then there were the Four Freedoms—
026 freedom from want and fear, freedom of speech and
027 religion—an interesting constellation of hopes, not
028 unrelated to all we have been predicting for the new
029 millennium. People, especially colonial peoples, lis-
030 tened to that wartime proclamation of the Four
031 Freedoms and wanted them all, for themselves.

001 It took some time after the war for the movements
002 of political liberation to jell. Even Winston Churchill
003 said he did not become Prime Minister to dismember
004 the British Empire. Now that it has happened, we
005 tend to forget how recent it was. But I can remember
006 attending the charter conference of the International
007 Atomic Energy Agency at the United Nations in
008 1956. All nations were invited and most came, even
009 the Vatican, which I represented with Marston Morse
010 of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton.
011 There were only 47 nations in attendance—and that
012 was only 17 years ago. At a similar conference today
013 there would be at least 140 nations. I recall travelling
014 throughout sub-Saharan Africa in 1958. At that time,
015 of the long time colonies only Ghana had become an
016 independent nation. Today practically all are inde-
017 pendent, with the exception of Portuguese Angola,
018 Mozambique, and a few tiny Spanish enclaves.

019 It seems almost inevitable that all these peoples,
020 including those on the vast Indian subcontinent,
021 should have been liberated. It seems less a matter of
022 rejoicing that nationalism, in all of its worst aspects,
023 was reborn and reinvigorated in almost every new
024 nation. This may be partially due to a reborn pride of
025 the people in their cultures. That is certainly good.
026 But it can be overdone too, especially in an ever more
027 interdependent world.

028 As a result of all this, we have begun to see the
029 impossibility of trying to govern a small planet like
030 this, or maintain its peace, when votes are equally
031 distributed to the very powerful and the very weak,

001 the very large and the very small. Whatever one says
002 of *Realpolitik*, there is something very unreal about
003 the geopolitical operation of the United Nations
004 today. So we have ineffective posturing, rhetoric in
005 five languages and millions of words. We have voting
006 by alignment rather than by what is right and just. A
007 small evil is loudly condemned here, and a massive
008 evil is conveniently overlooked there. It doesn't work
009 and must be overhauled before we can move politi-
010 cally with any confidence into the next millennium.

011 In the last analysis, it has been the great powers
012 that have called the tune during the past two and a
013 half decades—and the tune was "Cold War," with
014 not unrelated heatings in the Far East, in Korea, and
015 Vietnam. Fortunately, that seems to be coming to an
016 end, with the United States now on good terms with
017 China and Russia, though the latter two are still
018 mighty fidgety about each other. Europe has moved
019 toward economic unity and Japan is really booming,
020 with the third highest GNP in the world.

021 Now against this background, I will dare make my
022 speculations about the evolving shape and structure
023 of this new world, approaching the next millennium.

024 First, I would postulate that there will be a new
001 025 North-South orientation resulting largely in a trireg-
026 ional world. In the past, going back to the earliest
027 days of European trade with the Orient and the New
028 World, the important orientation was mainly East-
029 West. North-South represented trade of an exploitive
030 nature, picking up raw materials for low prices and
031 dumping cheap manufactured goods for higher

001 prices. The North became wealthy while the
002 countries of the Southern hemispheres, Australia and
003 New Zealand excepted (they were settled by Europe-
004 ans) mainly remained poor. Even today the impor-
005 tant political powers—the big five of the United
006 States, Great Britain, France, USSR, and China, with
007 Japan now added—are on an East-West axis.

008 With the decolonization of the world and the
009 ridiculously large number of sovereign powers emerg-
010 ing, arranged at best by historical accident and at
011 worst by wars, we realize that we must seek a better
012 political structure for our small planet. I suggest that
013 a triregional arrangement on a North-South orienta-
014 tion might develop in something like the following
015 sequence: Japan and China are emerging as the great
016 powers in the Orient, especially as the United States
001 017 withdraws. Russia will be squeezed out or neutral-
018 ized, driving it and its satellites into much closer
019 cooperation with a unified Europe (Russia in the
020 process conveniently finding itself more European
021 than Oriental anyway). The total economy of the
022 Orient will loom large, especially if you consider the
023 potential mineral wealth of Indonesia, Malaysia, and
024 Western Australia. Japan is already ranked third
025 economically in the world, even without this total
026 North-South alliance in the Orient.

027 The whole emerging European Economic Commu-
028 nity, plus Russia and the satellite countries, will vie
029 with the Orient for economic first place. The present
030 E.E.C., without all its potential partners, will attain
031 80 percent of the level of the United States GNP by

001 1980. Once the potential community is totally organ-
002 ized and looks south to the Middle East and Africa, it
003 does not take much imagination to see the United
004 States in third place. If this begins to happen, and it
005 well might, our natural region, largely neglected by us
006 this far, is the Western Hemisphere: Canada and
007 Latin America. We are already about as close to
008 Canada economically as can be, perhaps too close for
009 their liking. To the south, there have been regional
010 stirrings in Central America and in the Andean
011 region. Brazil is by all odds the new leader of the
012 third world, as was evident at the 1972 United
001 013 Nations Trade and Development Conference in San-
014 tiago, Chile, and at the Stockholm World Environ-
015 mental Conference a few months later. The United
016 States would have an enormous fence-mending task
017 to do before anything like an economic community
018 of the Western Hemisphere could be evolved. If my
019 speculations are anywhere near the mark, we had
020 best begin the mending.

583 021 Others may have a better scenario for what is
022 evolving in the political structure of the world as the
023 millennium approaches. Certainly, three strong and
024 equally powerful North-South regions would seem to
025 be geographically rational and would make the
026 political structure of this small planet more reason-
027 able, more amenable to peace, even more just. The
028 North-South alignment could be greatly conducive
029 to development, with a better distribution of the finite
030 resources of the earth. Each center of economic
031 strength in the North would be related to a large

001 southern area of present economic weakness, but
 002 great potential development. Such a North-South
 003 orientation would not prevent normal East-West
 004 trade continuation, but arrangements for tariff or free
 001 005 trade could be negotiated among regional communi-
 006 ties, without the strong preying on the weak. More-
 007 over, the best trade and credit benefits could be
 008 within each of the three regional communities them-
 009 selves for their internal health and growth.

010 As Lester Brown has observed in *World Without*
 011 *Borders*, a book that has provided me with many
 012 statistics,
 083 013

047 014 In effect, our world today is in reality two
 015 worlds, one rich, one poor; one literate, one largely
 016 illiterate; one industrial and urban, one agrarian
 017 and rural; one overfed and overweight, one hungry
 018 and malnourished; one affluent and consumption-
 019 oriented, one poverty-stricken and survival-
 020 oriented. North of this line, life expectancy at birth
 021 closely approaches the biblical threescore and ten;
 022 South of it, many do not survive infancy. In the
 023 North, economic opportunities are plentiful and
 024 social mobility is high. In the South, economic
 025 opportunities are scarce and societies are rigidly
 026 stratified.*
 084 030

835 031 One might add that the gap is continually widening,
 032 and will continue to do so unless something like I
 033 suggest begins to happen.
 083 027

005 028 * *World Without Borders* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 41; p.
 029 157.

001 To illustrate this from the most recent energy
002 crisis: while one hears loud cries of anguish from the
003 developed world, the increased costs for the underde-
004 veloped world next year will be, because of rising
005 prices, \$10 billion additional for fuel and \$5 billion
006 additional for food. This is six times greater than the
007 total present annual aid to these countries from the
008 ~~developed countries~~. India's costs for fuel and food
009 will rise from \$2.5 to \$4 billion—and there is a serious
010 question where the food will come from in today's
011 depleted market. To add to the crisis, Japan has
012 decided to cut its fertilizer program, on which much
013 of Asia depends, rather than the manufacture of
014 automobiles for export to the rich countries.

United States

015 I have consciously drifted from politics to econom-
016 ics; now back to my original political speculations
017 again. Brown adds later on in his book a quote from
018 Robert McNamara of the World Bank: "The outlook
019 for the seventies is that the fault line along which
020 shocks to world stability travel will shift from an
021 East-West axis to a North-South axis, and the
022 shocks themselves will be significantly less military
023 and substantially more political, social, and eco-
024 nomic in character."* Somehow men and nations act
025 more quickly and more decisively under economic
026 than under political necessity. That economic neces-
027 sity—one of the "shocks" of which McNamara
028 speaks—whether viewed as a crisis of global develop-
029 ment, peace, monetary systems, trade, or energy, is
030 already upon us. The emerging crises are shaping
031 history in a wide variety of ways. I believe that

* *Ibid.*, p. 157

001 political community, or regional groupings, will fol-
002 low the economic realities. Already the Cold War
003 terminology of three worlds, one democratic, one
004 socialistic, and one nonaligned and poor, is out of
005 date. There are not really three worlds today, but
006 two—the developed and the underdeveloped, the rich
007 and the poor, the North and the South. A triregional
008 alignment of these two worlds may be the best
009 promise of the new millennium.

010 If this should happen, we would see a vastly
011 different economic and political world. Many of the
012 hopes I have already enunciated would be greatly
013 facilitated by such a new triregional community. In
014 proposing all this, I continue to see regional econom-
015 ics and politics as subordinate to the common good
016 of the human community. But creative economics
017 and creative politics are an important part of man's
018 creative force in human history as we try to create a
019 new vision of earth and man, liberated from the
020 alienations, exploitations, indignities, hatreds, and
021 violence of the past.

022
583 023 All that has been said thus far has been woven with
024 the common thread of human development. The
001 025 concept of development was pioneered by Shum-
026 peter, who used the German term *Entwicklung* per-
027 haps more in the sense of *evolving*. Those who first
028 developed the concept, and many yet today, such as
029 Paul Samuelson and W. W. Rostow, speak of devel-
030 opment mainly in the economic sense. With so much
031 underdevelopment in the world today—witness the

Schumpeter

001 1.9 billion people who make less than \$100 a year—
 002 no wonder economics has been called the gloomy
 003 science. Again, as Lester Brown said so well, “An
 004 affluent global minority is overfed and overweight,
 005 but more than half of humanity is hungry and
 006 malnourished; some can afford heart transplants, but
 007 half of humanity receives no health care at all; a
 008 handful of Americans have journeyed to the moon,
 009 but much of mankind cannot afford a visit to the
 010 nearest city; several thousand dollars are spent on a
 011 college education for a young American, while much
 012 of mankind lacks the limited resources required to
 013 become literate. In a shrinking world, these growing
 014 disparities place great stress on the international
 015 political fabric.” *

018 But over time, and as scholars became more
 019 involved in the actual work of development, going
 020 beyond models to the realities (as I once saw Walter
 021 Rostow wrestling with realities in Latin America
 022 together with the seven “Wise Men” of the Organiza-
 023 tion of American States), it became more and more
 024 evident that development must be thought of as a
 025 total process—“integral development” as Paul VI
 026 used the term in his best encyclical, *Populorum*
 027 *Progressio*. It is in this sense that I have attempted to
 028 use the concept of human development in looking
 029 ahead to the year 2000. Man’s religious and moral
 030 consciousness is deeply involved, as well as his
 031 physical and intellectual well being; it too is touched
 032 by his sustenance and educational opportunities.

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* Ibid., p. 9.

001 Having underlined all of this, and having made a
002 whole spate of hopeful predictions, I should add that
003 the people of the Third World, which has during the
004 cold war languished between the capitalistic and
005 socialistic world, are increasingly having thoughts of
006 their own regarding their own development. Some of
007 them, especially in Latin America, do not even like
008 the sound of the word *development* (*desarrollo* for
009 them) because it has had so many overtones of
010 dependency upon those who are already developed.
011 Perhaps this dependency is inevitable, as develop-
012 ment does require capital, credit, technical assistance,
013 experts, and a host of other means. However, Latin
014 Americans argue, much of the development thus far
015 has been a one-way street: they have had to accept
016 our model of development so that while they go ever
017 more deeply into debt, their iniquitous feudal social
018 structures remain largely untouched, the rich getting
019 richer and the poor poorer. What the new breed in
020 Latin America want is a change of concept, substitut-
021 ing the word *liberation* for *development*. They want
022 this, negatively, to eliminate the connotation of
023 dependency, and, positively, to be freed to work out
024 their own plans for liberating those large masses of
025 the dispossessed from their grinding poverty, misery,
026 alienation, exploitation, and indignity.

027 I am using the words they use, and it would be
028 honest to add that many of the younger revolutionary
029 elements are more attracted by socialism than they
030 are by capitalism, which they regard as their ancient
031 despoiler. That is why people like Che Guevara,

001 Camilo Torres, and even Fidel Castro are more
002 idealized than Nixon, Wilson, or even Willie Brandt.
003 While I am not arguing their case, which often
004 appears to people from developed countries to be
005 naïve, subversive, ungrateful, or just plain foolish, I
006 understand their frustration. Capitalism has dealt
007 more brutally with them than it has with our own
008 poor and racial minorities. Certainly, they should be
009 allowed to determine their own destiny, even make
010 their own mistakes, especially in choosing their own
011 model of development, whether or not it comes out
012 looking more like socialism than capitalism. I believe
013 that we can work with them on their terms and not
014 always and everywhere completely on our terms,
015 according to our plans for them.

016 The Chinese, for example, have developed in
017 extraordinary ways, by themselves, mainly without
018 foreign aid. We may not like the Russians being
019 communists either, but in point of fact, they were an
020 oppressed society, 97 percent illiterate, before the
021 revolution, whereas they are highly developed educa-
022 tionally today. Perhaps none of us would like to pay
023 the price of freedom that both the Chinese and the
024 Russians paid, but we can believe strongly in our own
025 model for development while coexisting with and
026 even helping others having a different model. This
027 should not be an impossible stance when the Repub-
028 licans can get the American taxpayers to subsidize
029 wheat for Russia at a cost of \$300 million, getting
030 higher food prices here in the process.

031 The real reason we are willing to give more leeway

001 to Russia and China is because we respect their
002 power, while we tend to patronize Latin Americans
003 and Africans as powerless, undisciplined poor. If
004 what I have previously said about our own future
005 being closely interwoven with the future of the
006 Western Hemisphere makes any sense, then we had
007 better find another Henry Kissinger who is as inter-
008 ested in our underdeveloped neighbors, as the real
009 Henry Kissinger is effectively interested in our pow-
010 erful erstwhile enemies. The Third World will not go
011 away; in fact it has much that we need and want. But
012 especially the massive Latin American segment of the
013 Third World, which will number over 600 million
014 people by the end of the century, and to whom we
015 have been both a good and a bad neighbor, deserves
016 something uniformly better in the next millennium:
017 first, greater understanding from us in the sense that
018 they call *sentimiento* and, second, a two-way traffic
019 that makes for a better hemisphere, and also a better
020 world, whether we call it development, liberation, or
021 both.

022 I had hoped that, as was originally proposed, the
023 1973 U.S. foreign aid bill would be entitled "Mutual
024 Development and Cooperation," along with the
025 agency that was to carry out the bill's provisions—
026 one of which was to establish a billion dollar credit
027 annually for that poorest 1.9 billion of the world's
028 people. Unfortunately, the new title was scuttled in
029 the congressional conference committee and the new
030 form of aid in the House of Representatives. We
031 should be reminded occasionally that we have about

001 as much trade with the developing nations as we do
002 with the whole European Economic Community and
003 Japan combined. If the new provision of this aid bill
004 had been enacted, we would probably be doing more
005 trade with the least developed, which has been largely
006 untouched by former programs. But this important
007 point is lost on those with tunnel vision.*

008 I can, however, think of better motives for helping
009 our needy neighbors than those just mentioned. I
010 hope that these better, more altruistic motives will be
011 more apparent in the concluding section.

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483 001 7 Citizens of the World

008 002

835 003 The most stirring photograph brought back from the
004 moon by the astronauts was a faraway picture of the
005 earth itself. There it shines as no earth dweller had
006 ever seen it before: blue, flecked with white cloud
007 patterns, a beautiful small globe set against the black
008 void of space through which it is whirling at incredi-
009 ble speed. Archibald McLeish caught the poetry of
010 the vision. It is up to all of us to make it come true.

011 The sad reality is that the earth is much more
012 beautiful from afar than it is up close. Not that
013 physical beauty does not exist on earth. I have been
001 014 awed by the majesty of the soaring, snowy, wind-
015 swept heights of the Himalayas seen against the jade
016 green uplands of Nepal. The pastel-colored sweep of
017 the Britannica Range in Antarctica seen from
018 McMurdo base camp almost two hundred miles
019 away is enough to thrill the soul of any observer. A
020 sunset following a storm at sea, a sunrise on the
021 hushed African game-filled caldera of Ngorongoro
022 Crater, the Cordillera Blanca of Peru and Chile

001 viewed from a high flying jet on a bright winter
 002 afternoon, these are unforgettably beautiful earthly
 003 visions. Note, though, that in most of them man,
 004 apart from the viewer, is almost completely absent,
 005 and where man is present in large numbers on earth,
 006 one can almost always expect a diminution of
 007 beauty—both physical beauty, diminished through
 008 pollution, and spiritual beauty, marred by violence
 009 and injustice.

010 It is a singular blessing for our age that we have
 011 been able to see the earth from the moon, to see it as
 012 it really is, in Barbara Ward's words: Spaceship
 013 Earth, a beautiful, small space vehicle, providing a
 014 viable ecosystem for human beings, but with quite
 015 limited resources.* As Heilbroner said so well, "Life
 020 on this planet is a fragile affair, the kind of miracu-
 021 lous microbial activity that flourished on the thin film
 022 of air and water and decomposed rock which sepa-
 023 rates the uninhabitable core of the earth from the
 024 void of space." We, the passengers of Spaceship
 025 Earth, are capable of creating by our intelligence and
 026 freedom a whole series of man-made systems that will
 027 enhance the inherent beauty of our planet and make
 028 it even more humanly viable. Or we can turn
 029 Spaceship Earth into an ugly wasteland where human
 030 beings barely survive and hardly live in any human
 031 sense.

032 If you have any doubt that we are doing the latter


083 016

005 017 * Recently, Congress refused to replenish the funds we had promised for
 018 the World Bank's soft loan window, which is the best hope of the poorest
 019 in the developing countries.

* Barbara Ward used this term for the title
 of her George B. Pegram lectures, Spaceship
 Earth, Columbia University Press, New York,
 1966.

~~* An essay "Ecological Armageddon" in Between
 Capitalism and Socialism, Random House, New
 York, 1970~~

* Article "Growth and Survival" FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
 October 1972, Vol. 51, No. 1, p. 139

001 rather than the former, walk through the streets of
002 Calcutta, visit the favelas, *favelas*  barrios, villas miserias,
003 and callampas surrounding the Latin American capi-
004 tal cities, step aboard the floating junks adjacent to
005 Hong Kong's harbor, look at the native locations
006 north of Johannesburg in South Africa, or inspect
007 some of America's own inner city slums, Chicano
008 colonias in the Southwest, or miners' rotting villages
009 in Appalachia, or almost any American Indian
010 reservation in the West. It isn't just what you see that
011 will sicken you. It is that it is all so unnecessary, that
012 it is man-made and man-kept, and that it is in
013 startling contrast to the way other humans are living
014 in luxury only a few miles away from each of these
015 human sewers and garbage heaps.

016 An easy answer would be to say that there are just
017 not enough of the world's resources to house and feed
018 everyone. But then remember that last year, and for
019 most of the years we can remember, the governments
020 of this planet have spent more than \$200 billion on
021 armaments—and that is more than the total annual
022 income of the poorest half of the earth's population.
023 We do it because the Russians do it, and they do it
024 because we do it, and so the foolishness goes on and
025 on and on, all around the world. Meanwhile, the poor
026 go to bed hungry, when they are lucky enough to
027 have beds.

028 To put the case for the poor most simply, imagine
029 our Spaceship Earth with only five people aboard
030 instead of more than 3.5 billion. Imagine that one of
031 those five crew members represents those of us earth

001 passengers who live in the Western world of North
002 America and Europe—one fifth of humanity on
003 earth, mainly white and Christian. The person repre-
004 senting us has the use and control of 80 percent of the
005 total life-sustaining resources available aboard our
006 spacecraft. The other four crewmen, representing the
007 other four fifths of humanity—better than 2.5 billion
008 people—have to get along on the 20 percent of the
009 resources that are left, leaving them each about 5
010 percent to our man's 80 percent. To make it worse,
011 our man is in the process of increasing his portion of
012 these limited resources to 90 percent.

013 Now if this sounds piggish to you, it is! If you
014 speak of resources just in terms of energy, which is
015 popular today, we in the United States, with 6
016 percent of the world's population, used last year
017 about 40 percent of the world's total available energy.
018 While we complained about a trade deficit a year
019 ago, we made \$2 billion in excess of the less
020 developed countries, depending on our less favored
021 brethren in Latin America to provide us with one
022 billion of these dollars in surplus trade balances,
023 while we provided them with the least aid since aid
024 began.

025 How much human peace can you visualize or
026 expect aboard our spacecraft when its limited re-
027 sources are so unjustly shared, especially when the
028 situation is worsening each year? Peace is gained not
029 by armaments, but by justice. If four fifths of the
030 world's people live in misery while the other fifth
031 enjoy ever greater luxury, then we can expect no

✓ four-fifths

001 peace aboard Spaceship Earth, only frustration, de-
002 spair, and ultimately violence. The tragedy is that this
003 is the world that man has made and is making.

004 Is there any hope for man? Is our spacecraft really
005 hurtling toward massive human disaster: cataclysmic
006 human upheaval and the reduction of this beautiful
007 globe to a burned-out cinder? One can be optimistic,
008 I believe, only if this generation—the young particu-
009 larly—can shuck off the madness of the nightmare
010 that man for centuries, and increasingly of late, has
011 been living. A new vision is needed if man is to create
012 on earth the beauty that this planet manifests from
013 afar. The vision must be one of social justice, of the
014 interdependence of all mankind. Unless the equality,
015 the oneness, and the common dignity of mankind
016 pervade the vision, the only future of this planet is
017 violence and destruction on an ever increasing scale
018 —a crescendo of inhumanity that can only result in
019 total destruction. As a young man in the Peace Corps
020 in Malawi, Africa, put it, “While our leaders have
021 their power battles and ego trips, countless millions
022 of unknowns are in need of a bit more food, a year or
023 two more of education, another pot or pan, a sensible
024 way of controlling family size, a book or a bicycle.
025 These people aren’t asking for much; they would
026 only like to be a bit more free to be a bit more
027 human.”

028 I believe that none but the young—and the young
029 in heart—can dream this vision or pursue this ideal,
030 for it means leaving behind the conventional wisdom
031 that pervades the aging bones of the Western world.

001 The vision of one peaceful community of mankind on
 002 earth, dedicated to justice, equity, and human dignity
 003 for all is contrary to most of the modern American
 004 myths—unlimited growth for us at the expense of
 005 almost everyone else; the absoluteness of our Decla-
 006 ration of Independence; patriotism isolated from
 007 every other moral value (“my country right or
 008 wrong”); security only by force of arms, however
 009 unjustly used (as President Nixon said recently,
 010 “Bombs saved lives”); material wealth as the greatest
 011 goal of all, since it guarantees pleasure, power, and
 012 status. Everything but compassionate, unselfish recti-
 013 tude.

014 Who but the young or young in heart can say, I
 015 will march to another drumbeat; I will seek another
 016 vision for my country and my world? Not a vision of
 017 might making right, but of *noblesse oblige*. Not a
 018 vision of power, but of honor. Not just honor
 019 proclaimed as we hear it proclaimed so loosely today,
 020 but honor lived. As Robert Frost said:
 021

583 022 Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
 023 I took the one less traveled by,
 024 And that has made all the difference.
 025

583 026 What is mainly needed today to make the di-
 027 fference is a vision of justice to which we, the
 028 privileged, commit ourselves anew at home, to dem-
 029 onstrate that if justice is possible here in America,
 030 among different races, different religions, different
 031 socioeconomic classes, it might just be possible all
 032 around the world. America's leadership must be

001 demonstrated at home while it is proclaimed abroad,
002 and that leadership must be inspired by the same
003 kind of vision that inspired the birth of this country:
004 a vision of human equality and dignity needed today
005 for the birth of one whole world, a new planet where
006 human beings aspire to be humane, where beautiful
007 human beings begin to replace the past creations of
008 human ugliness with new creations born of compas-
009 sion, concern, and competence.

010 All this is not an empty dream, a naïve vision, if
011 young people, those who will usher in the new
012 millennium, take it seriously, joining intelligence to
013 their idealism, competence to their vision, and the
014 courage to dare to be different in how they view the
015 world they are going to make, or better, remake. I am
016 often asked, "How can we possibly turn the world
017 over to them?" My answer is both simple and
018 obvious. "What other choice do we have? Tomorrow
019 is theirs, not ours."

020 To pursue the matter further, it would seem to me
021 that we have here one of the strongest calls for
022 continuing education: first, to keep the emerging
023 generation from losing its dreams and goals, and
024 second, even more importantly, to influence the older
025 generation to react better than most of them are
026 reacting at present.

027 In a world changing as rapidly and profoundly as
028 ours, the older generation, even more than the
029 younger, needs continual reeducation to understand
030 what is happening, what the changes mean, what
031 good and what evil they might portend. The younger

001 generation is by nature supple, changeable, even at
002 times mercurial. The young sway with change, absorb
003 it almost by osmosis, and need but a few changeless
004 points of reference—in principle, in virtue, and in
005 faith—to live with change and still move forward
006 with meaning and direction to their lives. The
007 problem of the older generation is quite the opposite.
008 They face the temptation of the comfortable status
009 quo, the inertia that resists adapting continually to
010 new situations, no matter how promising or exciting.
011 Somehow, continuing education for this older gener-
012 ation must have the same kind of exponential growth
013 in the years ahead as college education has had for
014 the youth in the years just past, if the two generations
015 are to be able to live together in fruitful tension
016 rather than in senseless confrontation.

017 The very nature of the crisis and the opportunity
018 that face us today would argue for the new assump-
019 tion that, just as most young people will experience
020 higher education of some kind or other, so education
021 for them and for all who have completed formal
022 higher education will be a continuing process. Just
023 how this process will take place is a matter for further
024 thought, but there is little room for discussion of the
025 necessity of continuing education to undergird posi-
026 tive and constructive social responsibility on the part
027 of the older and younger generations in our society.

028 Social responsibility must have positive avenues of
029 expression that can be shared equally, if differently,
030 by the young and old members of the society. This
031 positive cooperation is hardly likely to happen unless

001 both the young and the old share some reasonably
002 common convictions about the just and reasonable
003 goals of modern society. Some communality of
004 continuing educational experience might well be at
005 the heart of this growing sense of social responsibil-
006 ity, particularly if it is the kind of education in values
007 we spoke of earlier—values taught with the measure
008 of hopefulness and energy that characterizes the best
009 of both generations today.

010 If one desires a practical expression of this vision
011 we might all begin by a Declaration of the Interde-
012 pendence of ~~M~~ankind. The evidence is totally on the
013 side of such a declaration—even as regards this
014 country which was founded almost two centuries ago
015 by a Declaration of Independence. There is no
016 serious problem facing our country, and indeed the
017 world today, that is not global in its sweep, as well as
018 in its solution. You can make a whole list: pollution,
019 population, trade, peace, human rights, human devel-
020 opment, security, health, education, communication,
021 drugs, crime, energy, space, raw materials, food,
022 freedom, and so forth. Try solving any one of these
023 problems in an adequate way without involving the
024 whole world. Try even thinking about the philosophi-
025 cal implications of an adequate solution without
026 reference to the inherent unity, equality, fraternity,
027 and dignity of mankind and what that dignity
028 demands and requires of human persons everywhere,
029 and most especially those who live where the power,
030 the wealth, and the leverage lie.

031 I was brought up in an America visualized as

Mcc

001 completely separated from the rest of the world,
002 proud of its independence and ocean-insured isola-
003 tion. Now we learn that the energy that makes all
004 America run—lighted, heated, mechanized, and
005 moved—will depend mainly on sources outside of the
006 United States in another dozen years, and that the
007 fourteen basic metal resources we need for our
008 manufacturing and industrial processes will come
009 mainly from other, less developed countries by the
010 turn of the century. The present energy crisis is just a
011 preview of things to come. The almighty dollar my
012 contemporaries idolized has been devalued twice in
013 less than two years.

014 Containing communism has been for almost three
015 decades the one all-embracing reason for our doing
016 almost anything abroad, from creating the Marshall
017 Plan to save postwar Europe to destroying Vietnam
018 in order to save it. What validity does containing
019 communism have now when our greatest diplomatic
020 concerns are better relations with the two root
021 sources of communism worldwide, Russia and
022 China? If we can recognize self-interested interde-
023 pendence in this new relationship with China and
024 Russia, as indeed we must, then we can recognize it
025 anywhere and everywhere. As our students love to
026 sing during liturgical celebrations at Notre Dame,
027 "There's a new world coming, every day, every day."
028 Indeed there is.

029 It would appear quite obvious at this point that the
030 winds of unity are blowing, that many are working to
031 bridge the chasms that have separated mankind

001 aboard Spaceship Earth. Diplomacy is happily bridg-
002 ing the chasms of ideology. We no longer require that
003 all mankind visualize society exactly as we do.
004 Ecumenism is bringing the Christian and non-Chris-
005 tian religions together in understanding at last. Cul-
006 tural exchange is finding mutual values in the East
007 and the West, while mercantilism in the modern dress
008 of the multinational corporation is pioneering some
009 unusual ways of economic development between the
010 northern and southern parts of our spacecraft. The
011 energy crisis is pushing for a solution to the Middle
012 Eastern dilemma. Racial prejudice stands convicted
013 worldwide of idiocy when Africans in Uganda expel
014 Orientals who were born there, or when the citizens
015 of Bangladesh cannot forgive their fellow Bihari.
016 Male chauvinism is on the way out in the Western
017 world, belatedly since in the East and Middle East,
018 India and Israel already have female prime ministers.
019 The unity of mankind must be the wave of the future.

020 This leaves the one great remaining divider of
021 human kind, perhaps the worst of all, national
022 sovereignty. Suppose that an intelligent and cultured
001 023 visitor from another solar system were to be in-
024 formed, on seeing our planet as the astronauts saw it
025 from the moon, that in addition to all the inequities,
026 injustices, and alienations already mentioned, man-
027 kind on earth insists on governing its spaceship by
028 dividing it into 140 different nationalities, some very
029 large, some impossibly small, and quite a few in
030 between. Our interplanetary visitor would also learn
031 that there is no reasonable rationale for these na-

001 tional divisions, that they often represent people of
002 the same language, religion, race, and culture, and
003 are in fact often separated only by historical acci-
004 dents. Now that the political separation is a fact, they
005 are ready to fight to the death to maintain their
006 national identities and territorial prerogatives. This
007 visitor could well take off in another direction,
008 believing that "intelligent life" did not exist here.

009 Since this is a factual description of how things are
010 on Spaceship Earth, how difficult it will be to achieve
011 human unity, decency, and oneness of purpose on
012 board. We must find some new way of transcending
013 this inane block of nationality that pits human
014 against human because by accidents of birth they
015 happen to be American or Canadian, East or West
016 German, Venezuelan or Colombian, Kenyan or
017 Ugandan, North or South Vietnamese.

018 I would like to propose a solution that would
019 bypass, rather than cut the Gordian knot of national-
020 ity. It is likewise a solution bound to be misunder-
021 stood unless someone stands in spirit on the moon
022 and views the world from there, with all its promise
023 of beauty and unity. As McLeish said, "To see the
024 earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in
025 that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves
026 as riders on the earth together, brothers on that
027 bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who
028 know now they are truly brothers."

029 What I suggest is that everyone in the world be
030 allowed to hold dual citizenship—to be a citizen of
031 the nation in which he or she happens to be born and,

001 in addition, to be able to qualify for world citizen-
 002 ship. The application to be a citizen of the world, of
 003 Spaceship Earth, would involve certain commit-
 004 ments. First, one would have to certify one's belief in
 005 the unity of mankind, in the equal dignity of every
 006 human being, whatever his or her nationality, race,
 007 religion, sex, or color. Second, one would have to
 008 certify one's willingness to work for world peace
 009 through the promotion and practice of justice at
 010 home and abroad. Third, one would have to do
 011 something to prove the sincerity of these beliefs,
 012 something to promote justice for all, something to
 013 promote the peace and well-being of one's fellow
 014 humans at home and abroad.

015 The growing number of human beings on Space-
 016 ship Earth who would freely opt for world, in
 017 addition to national citizenship might begin to prove
 018 that men and women are ready to regard each other
 019 truly as brothers and sisters, to seek justice for all, to
 020 live in peace, to commit their idealism to practice, to
 021 transcend nationalistic chauvinism, and to seek to
 022 realize a new vision of a Spaceship Earth with liberty
 023 and justice for all—the only true road to world peace.

024 One hopes that whatever international agency
 025 would certify this additional world citizenship might
 026 also grant to its world citizens some benefits befitting
 027 their commitment, such as free passage without visas
 028 anywhere in the world—a small concession, but one
 029 symbolic of what one free world might be for all its
 030 citizens as more of them apply for world passports.*

083 031
 005 032 * Two organizations have pioneered the idea of world citizenship: the
 033 World Association of World Federalists (63 Sparks Street, Ottawa,

005 And one hopes that our country, with its rich
006 transnational, multiracial, and polyreligious popula-
007 tion base, might be the first to propose and allow this
008 new idea of dual citizenship for all who desire to give
009 leadership and meaning to this new concept of a
010 more beautiful, more humane Spaceship Earth.

011 I would like to say for myself, and I hope for many
012 others, that I would welcome this kind of opportunity
013 to declare myself interested in the welfare of mankind
014 everywhere in the world, concerned for the justice
015 due all who suffer injustice anywhere in the world. I
016 believe that being a citizen of the world would
017 enlarge me as a person, would declare my fraternity
018 with every other man, woman, and child in the world.
019 I would take world citizenship to be a firm commit-
020 ment to work toward a new future for Spaceship
021 Earth and all its passengers, to be a harbinger of hope
022 for all who are close to despair because of their
023 dismal human condition, and finally to be a beacon
024 of light for humanity beleaguered by darkness in so
025 many parts of our world today. Again, one of Notre
026 Dame's Peace Corps volunteers, now studying at
027 Harvard, put it well: "One comes away from an
028 experience like the Peace Corps with a sense of real
029 international brotherhood. The fact that a fellow who
030 had never been out of the Midwest and could speak
031 only English could then live in two countries on the

001 Canada, K1P 5A6), and the International Registry of World Citizens
002 (California Center, 2959 23rd Avenue, San Francisco, California 94132). I
003 look forward to the time when world citizenship becomes more than a
004 symbolic gesture.

001 south and eastern fringes of Asia, form deep and
002 lasting friendships with the native people, learn a
003 language and a culture in both Ceylon and Korea
004 and function well in them—it makes one feel a sense
005 of oneness with people all over the world.”

006 I do not see the possibility of world citizenship as a
007 panacea or an immediate answer to all the world's ills
008 and evils. Rather, it would be for each of us a chance
009 to declare our interdependence with one another, our
010 common humanity, our shared hopes, our brother-
011 hood as members of the crew, our common vision of
012 the task facing humanity—to achieve human dignity
013 and the good life together. Once more, Barbara Ward
014 has elucidated the new vision beautifully:

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047 016

017 One of the fundamental moral insights of the
018 Western culture which has now swept over the
019 whole globe is that, against all historical evidence,
020 mankind is not a group of warring tribes, but a
021 single, equal and fraternal community. Hitherto,
022 distances have held men apart. Scarcity has driven
023 them to competition and enmity. It has required
024 great vision, great holiness, great wisdom to keep
025 alive and vivid the sense of the unity of man. It is
026 precisely the saints, the poets, the philosophers,
027 and the great men of science who have borne
028 witness to the underlying unity which daily life has
029 denied. But now the distances are abolished. It is at
030 least possible that our new technological resources,
031 properly deployed, will conquer ancient shortage.
Can we not at such a time realize the moral unity

001 of our human experience and make it the basis of a
002 patriotism for the world itself?" *

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It is easy to scoff at this vision of our humanity, our
005 oneness, our common task as fellow passengers on a
006 small planet. The great and powerful of this earth,
007 including those of America and Europe, can easily
008 sniff cynically and return to their game of power
009 politics, national jealousies, mountains of armaments,
010 millions of graves of men mourned by widows and
011 orphans, ravaged oceans, unverdant plains, and hun-
012 gry homeless people who despair of the good life. But
013 somehow I believe there is enough good will in our
014 country and in the world to expect millions of people
015 to declare all of this powerful posturing of corrupt
016 politicians to be arrant nonsense in one world, to say
017 that we do want all men and women to be brothers
018 and sisters, that we do believe in justice and peace,
019 and that we think homes, fields of grain, schools, and
020 medicine are better than guns, tanks, submarines,
021 ABMs and MIRVs. The trouble is that the millions
022 of little people, the ones who really man Spaceship
023 Earth, the ones who really work and suffer and die
024 while the politicians posture and play, these little
025 ones have never been given a chance to declare
026 themselves. And this is wrong, globally wrong.

027 Having traveled across the face of our beautiful
028 planet, having traversed all its oceans and its conti-
029 nents, having shared deep human hopes with my
030 brothers and sisters of every nationality, religion,
031 color, and race, having broken bread and found

* Barbara Ward, Spaceship Earth, Columbia
University Press, New York, 1966, p. 148

001 loving friendship and brotherhood everywhere on
002 earth, I am prepared this day to declare myself a
003 citizen of the world, and to invite everyone every-
004 where to embrace this vision of our interdependent
005 world, our common humanity, our noblest hopes and
006 our common quest for justice in our times and,
007 ultimately, for peace on earth, now, and in the next
008 millennium.